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NARRATIVE

OF A

MISSION TO BOKHARA.

Mr SARG DEL.

DICKINSON & SON LITH.

Joseph Hopper

NARRATIVE

OF A

MISSION TO BOKHARA,

IN THE YEARS 1843—1845,

TO

ASCERTAIN THE FATE

OF

COLONEL STODDART AND CAPTAIN CONOLLY.

BY THE

REV. JOSEPH WOLFF, D.D., LL.D.,

VICAR OF ISLE BREWERS, SOMERSETSHIRE.

Fourth Edition.

LONDON:

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TO

HIS EXCELLENCY SIR STRATFORD CANNING, G.C.B.,

British Ambassador at Constantinople,

WHOSE SINCERE FRIENDSHIP, DISTINGUISHED PROTECTION,

AND KIND HOSPITALITY,

I AM PROUD TO ACKNOWLEDGE;

TO

CAPTAIN GROVER,

MY WARM AND ZEALOUS FRIEND, THE PRESIDENT OF THE

STODDART AND CONOLLY COMMITTEE;

AND TO

THE GENTLEMEN OF THAT COMMITTEE,

EQUALLY ESTIMABLE FOR THEIR

TRUE ENGLISH PHILANTHROPY AND CHRISTIAN COMMISERATION

FOR THEIR BRETHREN IN DISTRESS

AND IMPRISONMENT;

I DEDICATE THE FOLLOWING PAGES.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

این کتاب را هنری گرین طبیب صاحب
از بوخارا ولوخرید

Henry Green Esq Distinguished Physician
of Bokhara brought this book from

PREFACE.

Joseph Wolff

FEW words will suffice to lay so simple a story as the causes which led to the production of the Work now before the public. In 1843 I undertook, at the desire of the Stoddart and Conolly Committee, to ascertain the fate of these officers. It will, I trust, appear that I have realized what I then undertook. I claim no further merit than having kept my word to them. They supplied me with pecuniary means to undertake the journey. I have to thank the Foreign Office for furthering the object I had in view, by all points short of making me a British Envoy. The exertions of the Envoy at Teheraun, it will be seen, in procuring a letter from the Shah, saved my life. I owe that, undoubtedly, twice to the friendly power of Persia. It will be further fully apparent, from the letters of Colonel Sheil, our Envoy at Teheraun, that he dared not venture on writing to me, since that step would probably have occasioned my death; so that my danger at Bokhara may be distinctly gathered from that circumstance alone.

Our recent successes in the East will, I entertain no doubt, strike terror into the heart of the Ameer of Bokhara, whom we are fast approaching from Sinde and

the Punjaub. By the renown of British arms I trust that future Envoys will pass unhurt amid the wildest tribes of the descendants of Timur and Ghengis Khan. Of one thing I feel fully assured, that the hitherto immovable East is relaxing much of its usages and customs in favour of an advancing civilization. I feel that I have been no mean pioneer to this progression, and that I have taught the disciples of Muhammed, from the lone Pilgrim of the Desert to the wisest Derveesh and Mullah, the important principles of our faith in such a manner as, from my long acquaintance with their feelings, I felt most likely to gain attention. It will be seen in these pages that, from the friendly understanding between the Khaleefa of Mowr, myself, and Abbas Kouli Khan, that the good and intelligent of all religions are aware of the deep necessity of not relaxing the bonds of moral obligation, and at least unite on that ground. It was my effort to show that Christianity contained in her higher inducements to moral practice than any existing religion; and I have been surprised to perceive the effect that our system has produced on the wildest of the Tartar tribes by the pure beauty of holiness. The East already recognises the inspiration of a large portion of our sacred writings, and has always assigned to the Founder of our faith a high degree of reverence and attention. The intelligent missionary has, consequently, this advantage in his favour; but men must be sent into the East of learning and power, capable, by the dignity of their demeanour, the grace of their manner, and the affability of their address, to strike a people on whom conventional

advantages are never lost. Very rarely indeed has England sent out persons at all calculated to gain the ear of Orientals, or to win any attention whatever. Our great Societies are mistaken if they think that an ordinary English Presbyter will do for such a purpose. He must be one as well calculated to dine with Sir Stratford Canning, as to submit to the privations of the desert. He must be a gentleman in the drawing-room, a scholar in his library, an apostle in his mission. I am quite certain that without conciliating both his countrymen and strangers, little can be achieved by him; but my own reception will give him clear proof that the hearts of all are ready to receive him with affection, and to listen to him with reverence.

In these my wanderings, I have innumerable persons to thank for their attention to me; but especially have I to acknowledge the kindness of Admiral Sir Edward Owen, Sir Patrick Stuart at Malta, Mr. Stevens at Trebizond, my generous and noble-minded friend Colonel Williams, Mr. James Brant, and Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse; and also that of Colonel Sheil at Teheraun. But most especially must I thank Sir Stratford and Lady Canning, for their great kindness during my stay at Constantinople: nor must I omit to mention their Excellencies Count and Countess Stürmer, Count Von Medem, and Monsieur Titoff.

For the quietude of soul of the friends of those murdered officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, I have to observe that they were both of them cruelly slaughtered at Bokhara, after enduring agonies from confinement in prison of the most fearful character,—

masses of their flesh having being gnawn off their bones by vermin, in 1843. The cause of these foul atrocities being practised on them, the positive agent of their entire misery, was the Nayeb of Nasir Ullah Behadur, Ameer of Bokhara, ABDUL SAMUT KHAN. I charge on that pretended friend of the English nation this foul atrocity. I wish that this open declaration of mine should find insertion in the Persian newspapers published in the kingdom of the Sikhs at Lahore, and also at Delhi. I wish it to reach the Ameer of Bokhara, in order that that Sovereign, whose ear has been much abused by that foul miscreant, should perceive that he has been led to act under false and erroneous impressions with regard to the real objects at heart of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, and that Abdul Samut Khan intended to have added me to their bloody graves. I appeal to his understanding, whether a letter from England then received from any of our Authorities would not also probably have led me, a simple traveller, to share the fate of these Diplomatic agents of England. I assert that Abdul Samut Khan, the Nayeb, wished me further to give him thirty thousand tillahs, to effect the death of the very Sovereign who has so highly honoured him. These are grave charges,—let the Persian come into the lists and disprove them.

In the course of this work I have to acknowledge my obligations to Von Hanmer repeatedly, and I have already in my former Preface given the names of various gentlemen who had furnished me with materials for my Appendix to the first and second editions.

I desire to repeat my thanks for their kindness, although their labours, from a press of fresh matter, the result of novel circumstances, have not been incorporated in the present Volume.

But most of all are my acknowledgments due to my excellent, kind-hearted, and learned friend, the Reverend J. W. Worthington, D. D., who arranged and corrected most kindly the whole of *four editions* which the noble British nation has demanded, and took besides such a warm and brotherly interest in my welfare as I *never never* can forget.

August 18*th*, 1846.

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The Mervee wish to know the Story of Napoleon—Dr. Wolff recounts it in an Oriental fashion. He amuses the tedious hours of Captivity by telling various Anecdotes—His Anecdote of the Arabian Derveesh reaches the ears of the Dastar Khanjee, who reports it to the Ameer. The Kazi Kelaun assures Dr. Wolff that the British Officers were put to death, and that the King deeply

repented of the act—The Kazi Kelaun warned the Ameer of the Consequences—All the Jews knew of the Execution the same day; and the Inhabitants of Bokhara, in town and country, speak of it as a matter well known. Dr. Wolff tells an Anecdote of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Dr. Wolff laughs at Ameer Sarog's Vanity, and tells him the Tale of the Derveesh with the White Beard. . . . . 301—306.

CHAPTER XVI.

Abdul Samut Khan tells Dr. Wolff that he was the chief Instigator of the Slaughter at Khokand in the first War—his Motives were to create a Feud between the States, which he trusted would end in the Death of the Ameer. Abdul Samut Khan says that the first Expedition against Khokand was by the advice of Russia—People of Khokand have since made an Alliance with Russia—Policy of Russia was to bring this about by urging the Ameer to war on them, when they would require aid. Russians intend to erect a Fortress at Hasrat Sultan. People from Cabûl, Cashmeer, and Sinde call on Dr. Wolff—They praise highly Sir Charles Napier. Letter of Sir Charles Napier. Affghauns from Cabûl ascribe the Disasters of the British Army to the immoral Conduct of the Officers. Determined Conduct of Major Rawlinson—he puts to Death an Affghaun for Murder. Manners and Customs of the Muhammedan Mullahs. Diligence of Muhammedans in copying the *Koran*—Propaganda and British and Foreign Bible Society discharge the same Office by the Christians—The Bible would be nearly extinct in the East but for these Societies. Arrival of Abbas Kouli Khan, the Persian Ambassador—he tells Dr. Wolff that the Shah, Haje, and Assaff-ood-Dowla had strongly recommended him to bring Dr. Wolff with him, or to send him on before him. Nayeb informs Dr. Wolff that Yar Muhammed Khan had sent three Ambassadors to Bokhara, stating that Colonel Sheil had called the Ameer a Robber in the presence of the Russian and Yar Muhammed Khan's Ambassadors, of Dr. Wolff, and the Bokhara Ambassador; therefore Yar Muhammed Khan advised the Ameer to strike off Dr. Wolff's head. Nayeb offers Dr. Wolff his protection. Turkish Officer, Muhammed Khokaane, murdered in the Nayeb's Garden. Another Conversation with the Nayeb. The Nayeb reports Abbas Kouli Khan's Mission untruly—Dr. Wolff tries to escape. The Nayeb violates his promise to protect Dr. Wolff—The King sends for him. Dr. Wolff charges the Nayeb with the Murder of Stoddart and Conolly; the Nayeb owns it. Dr. Wolff again tries to escape through a Water-hole from the Garden of the Nayeb to the house of the Yawer—While there a Woman is introduced to him; he is aware of the Stratagem to compel him, by her means, to embrace Muhammedanism, and drives her from him. Ordered by the King to appear before him—leaves the Garden of Abdul Samut Khan—presents himself before the Ameer, who receives him sternly. Ordered to the Toora Khane and close Confinement—calls on Abbas Kouli Khan, who vows to save him. The King sends word to him that he may quit Bokhara in two ways—leaves to his Majesty the choice of either. King sets out for Samarcand. . . . . 307—317

CHAPTER XVII.

Jews obtain leave from the Ameer to visit Dr. Wolff—They sing with him, and ask for the Names of illustrious Jews who had embraced Christianity—He tells them of several; *viz.* Emanuel Veith, M. D., Dr. Mayers, Dr. August Neander, Dr. Ratisbon, Isaac da Costa, Dr. Kabbadose, Madame Dorothea Schlegel. Conversation with Polish Jew. Various Anecdotes. Muhammed Bakher Nakash, the Servant of Conolly, abjures Islam, and says the Christians are better Men than the Muhammedans—he is brought before the Sheikh Islam, persists in his Avowal; is sent to Prison, and flogged. Ameer returns—sends to Dr. Wolff a Mullah, to know whether he will embrace the Muhammedan Religion—Dr. Wolff replies, *Never*. Executioner sent also. Letter from the Shah—Haje Ibrahim, the Brother of Abdul Samut Khan, informs the Nayeb of the Letter, and urges him to prevent Abbas Kouli Khan from receiving it. Muhammed Bakher saved by Dr. Wolff. Atrocities of Abdul Samut Khan—gets a Türkomaun beheaded, who came to save Stoddart; also Ephraim, a Jew, from Meshed—Prisoners in his Garden; their Moanings and Wailings. Impression throughout the Muhammedan Countries that England and Russia will seize all those Regions. Remark of Bokharee to Dr. Wolff. Affghauns praise the English. Habeeb, weeping, tells Dr. Wolff that he is to die—Servants of Abdul Samut Khan announce his Death, and show a Letter from Abdul Samut Khan to that effect. Dr. Wolff makes up his mind to die. . . . . 318—329.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colonel Sheil. Bad conduct of Dr. Wolff's Servants. Remark of Usbecks on the treatment of Dr. Wolff. Questions put by the Makhrams by order of the King to Dr. Wolff. Kindness of Abbas Kouli Khan to Dr. Wolff; the noblest-minded Persian Dr. Wolff has seen—sends Dr. Wolff Food from his own Table—places a Servant with Dr. Wolff for his personal Safety—sends his Physician to Dr. Wolff to treat him for the Rishta. Abbas Kouli Khan and Dr. Wolff read together. Various Reports of the Ameer's Proceedings. Abbas Kouli Khan's religious Opinions. Conversation with People of Samarcand—they tell Dr. Wolff of Gold Mines and Turquoises near Samarcand—of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane. Letter of Abbas Kouli Khan to Lady Georgiana. Nayeb sends two thousand tillahs to Dr. Wolff. The Letter of Lord Ellenborough reported to be at Balkh—arrives in forty Days—Seal broken. Abdul Samut Khan leaves Bokhara for Samarcand—his Message to Dr. Wolff. Vile Conduct of the Servant Abdullah—tries to rob Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff wishes the Jews to take charge of Abdul Samut Khan's Money—they decline it, on the ground that Abdul Samut Khan would take it from them, and make them pay for it. Letters arrive at Bokhara from the Brother of Conolly—Dr. Wolff opens them. Abbas Kouli Khan's continued Kindness to Dr. Wolff. The Jews visit Dr. Wolff—their curious method of Conversation. Dr. Wolff writes to the "Sovereigns of Europe." A second Letter,

with strict Instructions about Dr. Wolff's Safety, arrives from the Shah. Letter to Captain Grover. Return of the Ameer and Abdul Samut Khan to Bokhara. King reads Lord Ellenborough's Letter—determines in his own mind, Abdul Samut Khan says, to kill Dr. Wolff—Others say that Abdul Samut Khan advised him to do so. Abbas Kouli Khan, Dil Assa Khan, and Dr. Wolff, visit the Ameer—he does not look on Dr. Wolff. Letter to Lady Georgiana and his Son. All Letters sent open by Dr. Wolff. Mullah sent to Dr. Wolff to know if he would embrace Muhammedanism—he replies, *Never*. Executioner visits him—Dr. Wolff prepares for Death. Abbas Kouli Khan intimates to the Ameer that he has a Letter to deliver from the Shah. The Ameer receives it, and gives Dr. Wolff up to him. . 330—340.

CHAPTER XIX.

Ameer sends for the Servants of Abbas Kouli Khan and Dil Assa Khan, but omits Dr. Wolff's by mistake, to give them Robes of Honour—Interview with the Nayeb—Presents from the King. The Ameer tells Dr. Wolff to ask a Favour of him—Dr. Wolff declines doing so. Ameer determines to send an Ambassador to England. Vile conduct of Abdul Samut Khan. Audience of leave to depart—Ameer commends the Conduct of Dr. Wolff—censures that of Stoddart and Conolly. Reception in Bokhara by the People. Murders committed by Abdul Samut Khan. First Plan by which the Ameer might be effectually checked in his Atrocities—Second Plan for same. English Honour requires some Notice to be taken of the Ameer's Conduct. Character of Ameer—Brutal, lustful, tyrannical, but not so to the Poor; fond of Information; deeply affected at having put to death Stoddart and Conolly. Dr. Wolff prefers Ameer to Abdul Samut Khan. Description of Bokhara by Mr. Mc Gregor. Population of Khiva—Trade of those countries—Russian Trade. Dignitaries of the State—Ecclesiastical Dignitaries. 341—355.

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from Bokhara. Dr. Wolff discovers a Plot to kill and rob him, *en route*—Thousands attend to witness their Departure. Dr. Wolff refuses to separate from Abbas Kouli Khan. Arrival at Jesman-Doo—Vile Conduct of Muhammed Taki—Abbas Kouli Khan expresses his Displeasure. Derveesh of Yarkand—Conversation with him. Affghaun Seyd—Conversation with him. The Calmucks—their singular Conduct. Remarkable fine sense of Smelling and Hearing in Türkomauns. Appearance of Usbecks. Conversation with Abbas Kouli Khan—he thinks Abdul Samut Khan was the Murderer of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Visit from a Mullah—his Account of Timur—Memoir of Timur—Shahr Sabz. *Route:* Jesman-Doo—Shahr Islam. History of Afrasiab. Reports of Guzl-Bash about the English. Mortesa and Abdullah advise Dr. Wolff to leave Abbas Kouli Khan—he refuses. Peikand—Karakol—The Governor of Karakol warns Dr. Wolff

that a Plot is laid to take away his life. Hussein. *Route:* Allat—The Caravan lose their way. An attempt made by Ismael and Mortesa to seize Dr. Wolff—he calls on the Merchants of the Caravan to protect him. Sayen. Dr. Wolff wishes to throw away the Money in the Desert—Abbas Kouli Khan takes it in his keeping. . . . . 356—372.

CHAPTER XXI.

Arrival at Jehaar-Joo. Abbas Kouli Khan calls on the Caravan to protect Dr. Wolff. Bokhara Ambassador demands Money from Dr. Wolff. Rafitak. Bokharese Horsemen from the Ameer demand tribute—Dr. Wolff disconsolate. Arrival at Ujaaje. Mowr—Caravan declared Prisoners. Ameer of Bokhara orders the Türkomauns to release the Caravan; they refuse to obey—Their Khaleefa threatens to leave them if they injure the Caravan; they obey him. Conversation of Derveesh; of a Türkomaun. A Derveesh tells the Story of Scanderbeg—Fakeers—Sultan Sanjaar. The Khaleefa speaks of Ghengis Khan—Khaleefa's Son speaks ill of the Assaff-ood-Dowla—Tribe of Salor best of the Türkomauns. Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli lay a Plot to murder Dr. Wolff; the Khaleefa frustrates it. Jews aid the Khivites against Bokhara—Joseph of Talkhtoon—Türkomaun Tales of Sultan Sanjaar. Türkomauns, in despite of Treaty, kill the Messenger of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The Khaleefa's Conversation the night of his departure with Dr. Wolff. 373—381.

CHAPTER XXII.

Tribe of Tekka. *Route:* Olugh Baba—Sarakhs. Abbas Kouli Khan ill-treated by the Türkomauns.—The Türkomauns demand Robes of Honour. Dr. Wolff is obliged to assume Madness to preserve himself and Abbas Kouli Khan—Türkomauns demand Tribute again. Taking of Sarakhs by Abbas Mirza in 1832—Khojam Shokoor threatens to put the Caravan to Death—Arrival at Mostroon—Nasarieh—Dil Assa Khan disgraced by the Assaff-ood-Dowla—Gaskoon—Meshed—Dr. Wolff seized with Illness. Account of Meshed—its Rulers. Letter from Colonel Sheil, announcing a Subscription to the Mission of three thousand Rupees from Captain Eyre—A second Letter from Colonel Sheil, announcing a Subscription for the same Object from Cabül Relief Committee of ten thousand Rupees—Letter from Captain D'Arcy. Dr. Wolff never received these Amounts. Letter from Agra Bank, announcing further Subscription from the North-west Provinces of India—Letter from Secretary of the Cabül Relief Society—Third Letter from Colonel Sheil. Assaff-ood-Dowla takes Birjand.—Earthquake at Kayen—Persian Agents not trustworthy. Kind Reception at Meshed of Dr. Wolff by Hussein Khan, Son of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Hussein Khan wishes to punish Dil Assa Khan—Dr. Wolff intercedes for him on account of his family—Dr. Wolff gets Abdullah bastinadoed and imprisoned. Fourth Letter of Colonel Sheil. Kindness of Mullah Mehdee to the English—Villany of a German named Dieskau. Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa, calls at Night on Dr. Wolff—Massacre of Allah-Daad—The Jew Rahmeem. Dr. Wolff's Letter to the Jews of Meshed. . . . . 382—398.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Dissent among the Mussulmans—Sayëd asserts Pilgrimages to be unnecessary. Imaum Resa killed by Haroun Rashid. Muhammed Ali Serraf calls on Dr. Wolff—Dr. Wolff charges him with Neglect in not delivering the Letters of Sir Moses Montefiore and the Sultan—Muhammed Ali Serraf shows a Letter from Colonel Sheil to justify his Conduct. Date of the Execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Argument for 1258 Hejirah; 1259 the right Date. Dr. Wolff regrets that the Sufferings of the Officers should have been so protracted, but cannot come, on reflection, to any other conclusion than 1259 Hejirah, 1843, A.D. Character of Colonel Sheil—Evil of appointing Envoys that are not of the Established Church—Singular Conduct of Colonel Sheil. Letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Christian Missions—Stations for them recommended at Semnan, Damghan, Nishapoor, Meshed, Hasrat-Sultan, Tashkand, Shamay, Yarkand, Cashgar, Eele, Thibet, and Cashmeer; not at present at Bokhara—Khokand, Cashmeer, Ladack, and Lassa—The Languages requisite: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Hindûstanee, Hebrew, and Kalmuck—Sciences and Arts. Conduct required in a Missionary—Missionaries in the East. Dialogue between Dr. Wolff and a Sooffee. Ameer Beyk, the Daoodee. *Route:* Askeres—Shereef Abad—Kadam-Gah—Nishapoor—Sabz-Awar. Curious Report circulated there, at the first visit of Dr. Wolff, that he was two hundred years old, and acquainted with all the Sciences of the Earth—Visited the second time by Crowds, who conceived he had predicted the recent Earthquake. *Route:* Massanan—Abbas Abad—Miyandasht—Miyamey—Dr. Cormick died at Miyamey—Death of Abbas Mirza—Illness of Dr. Wolff. Conversation between Sabhan Ullah Khan and Dr. Wolff. Letter from Colonel Sheil received en route. *Route:* Shah Rood—Deh-Mullah—Damghan—Dowlat Abad—Aghwan—Semnan—Lasgird—Deh Namak—Pah-Deh—Kish-Lagh. Arrival at Teheraun—Hospitable Reception by Colonel Sheil—Monsieur Le Comte Sartiges. 399—416.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Dr. Wolff preaches at the Embassy. Noble Conduct of Count Medem. Colonel Sheil refuses to return the Letter of Lord Ellenborough. Kindness of the Russian Embassy—Khosrow Khan—Dr. Wolff writes to the Ameer. Reception by the Shah—Dr. Wolff thanks his Majesty for his Life—His Life twice preserved by the Court of Persia—Autograph of the Shah—Mullah Bahram, the Gueber. Colonel Sheil demands the Date of the Execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly—Dr. Wolff gives 1258 Hejirah—Abbas Kouli Khan thinks it was 1259—Dr. Wolff, on further reflection, coincides with Abbas Kouli Khan. Persia could not, under existing circumstances, take Bokhara. Mirza Abdul Wahab. Letter of Abbas Kouli Khan to Lady Georgiana Wolff—Kindness of the Embassy to Dr. Wolff. Armenian Church—Recourse had to the Russian Embassy, and not to the British, by the Protestant Missionaries. Count Medem visits Abbas Kouli Khan, and thanks him for his Kindness to Dr. Wolff. Visit of Dr. Wolff to the Haje, the

Prime-minister of the Shah—their Conversation—Haje Ibrahim demands six thousand Tillahs—Dr. Wolff takes an Oath that he never received this Sum—Dr. Wolff pays him three thousand Tillahs, and draws on Captain Grover for four hundred Pounds. Haje Ibrahim claims three thousand Tillahs as due from Conolly—Dr. Wolff protests against this Payment, and thinks Colonel Sheil ought to have refused to pay Haje Ibrahim any thing for either himself or Captain Conolly. Letter from the Queen to the King of Bokhara. Visit to Haje Baba. Inexplicable Conduct of Colonel Sheil. 417—428.

CHAPTER XXV.

Departure from Teheraun. *Route:* Kand—Sunghur-Abad—Sepher-Khoja. Meeting here with Assaad Ullah Beyk. *Route:* Casween—Sultanieh—Sanjoon—Gul-Teppa. Illness of Dr. Wolff—Kind reception of Dr. Wolff at Tabreez by Mr. Bonham; his Treatment by Dr. Casolani. Mr. Osroff and the Russian Legation. Introduction of Dr. Wolff by Mr. Bonham to Prince Bahman Mirza—the Prince presents Dr. Wolff with a valuable Emerald Ring. Letter of Prince Bahman Mirza. Russian Inhabitants of Tabreez consider it disgraceful to the British Government to permit the Stoddart and Conolly Affair to rest in its present position—Extracts showing the exact Position of these Diplomatic Agents—First, from Captain J. Conolly, Brother to the murdered Captain Conolly; Second, Extracts from the Correspondence of Colonel Stoddart; Third, Extract from the Journal of Captain Conolly—Impolicy of Non-interference. Holy places visited by Persians. Dispute between Turks and Persians on Frontier Question. Colonel Taylor and Major Rawlinson. Desciples of John the Baptist—their singular History—their Report of themselves that they are Descendants of the Chaldeans and of the Brothers of Abraham. Triple Name of God—Baptism of John in the Wilderness. Two kinds of Priests; one the Representative of the Baptist, the other of the Christ—their Book, the *Sadra Raba*—reported Authors of it Seth and John the Baptist—their Residences—Fruitless attempts of Father Agatangelos to convert the Mandaye, or Disciples of John the Baptist. Dr. Wolff, however, establishes a School, which the Son of even the Ganz-Awra, or Representative of Jesus Christ, attends—they affirm Boohyra to have been a Nestorian Monk; also that they emigrated from Egypt with the Jews, and separated from them on the Institution of the Rite of Circumcision by Joshua—their Language Chaldean. The Ganz-Awra has his right hand cut off by order of the Governor of Bosra—he maintained that numbers of their Sect were resident in Morocco. Catholicity shown to be a natural Principle from the Conduct of Sectarians. . . . . 429—438.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Two leading Sects amid Muhammedans, Sheahs and Sunnees. Ball by Mr. Bonham—Dancers all Gentlemen. Death of Mrs. Bonham. Shamyl Beyk—Anecdote of him and General Neidhart. Chaldeans in the Mountains of Kurdistaun, not of the Ten Tribes, Dr. Wolff thinks, as commonly asserted.

Nestorians or Chaldeans—their Assertion that they did not become Followers of Nestorius, but simply received him kindly among them—Episcopacy hereditary among them—oppressed by the Kurds—Sir Stratford Canning interferes in their behalf. Mar Yohannan, Bishop of Oroomiah—his Letter, written in English. Accurate character of Mr. Ainsworth's Work on Asia Minor, &c. Armenians of Tabreez give Dr. Wolff a Public Dinner. Diploma from Bahman Mirza to Dr. Casolani. Daoud Khan. Attempt to abolish ancient Forms by the Protestant Missionaries injudicious. Edward Burgess—his unfortunate Position—Letter addressed by him to Dr. Wolff. Departure of Dr. Wolff from Tabreez. *Route:* Mayoon—Dessa Khaleel—Tasuj—Sayd Hajee—Khoy. Dangerous travelling from this point—Robbery of Messrs. Todd and Abbott—the Kurds compel Mr. Todd to swallow his Pomatum. *Route:* Soraba—Karaine—Leyba—Awajick. Snow compels Dr. Wolff to go on Horseback—The Pasha of Erzroom sends a Guard of Honour for Dr. Wolff. Letters from Colonel Williams. . 439—444.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Route: Ghizl-Deesa—Utsh Kelesea—Nierses, the Katokhikos of the Armenian Church. Efforts of the Czar to unite Armenian and Russian Churches. *Route:* Yuntsh Aloo—Kara Klesea—Mullah Suleiman—Seydekan Dr. Wolff injured by a fall from his Horse. *Route:* Dehli Baba—Komassur—Kopre Koy—Hassan Kaleh. Letters from Colonel Williams and Mr. Brant—Letter of Colonel Williams to Captain Grover. Arrival at Erzroom. Dreadful sufferings of Dr. Wolff—Kindness of Colonel Williams, Mr. Brant, and Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse to Dr. Wolff. Ambassador from Bokhara to England arrives at Erzroom. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Interview of Dr. Wolff, Mr. Brant, Colonel Williams, and Colonel Farrant with Kamil Pasha—Kamil Pasha's Statement to them of his Interview with the Ambassador from Bokhara to England. Departure from Erzroom. *Route:* Mey Mansoor—Saaza—Massad—Beyboot—Jaajee Koy—Gumush Khané—Artasa—Yerkopri—Yeseer Oglu. Letter from Mr. Stevens. 450—463.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Arrival at Trebizond—Folly of Land Quarantine there. Ambassador from Bokhara arrives. One of his old Friends the Makhrams calls on Dr. Wolff—Dr. Wolff feels reluctant to renew the Intimacy—Visits received by Dr. Wolff when in Quarantine. Letter from Colonel Farrant—Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Bokhara Ambassador gets Pratique one day before Dr. Wolff—Singular Conduct of the Pasha of Trebizond. Letter from Mr. Brant. Departure for Constantinople—Samsoon and Sinope—Arrival at Constantinople. Dr. Wolff preaches on board the *Virago*. Letters from Sir Stratford Canning, the Honourable Mr. Wellesley, and Lady Canning. Kindness of the Legation. Curious Painting of St. Bernard. Letter from the Rev. H. D. Leeves. Arrival of seven Franciscan Friars at Constan-

tinople, expelled from Russia for their refusal to swear Allegiance to the Czar—Sympathy excited for them. Power of the Romish Church greatly curtailed by the Czar. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Visit to Saint Sophia. The Missionaries call on Dr. Wolff—Schauffler; his extraordinary Acquirements in Language—Conversation with Count Stürmer. Santa Clara, the Court-Preacher at Vienna—his Views on Transfiguration—his Description of Faith. Punishment of Death for Apostasy abolished—the Declaration of the Porte. Letter of Mr. Brant. Introduction of Dr. Wolff to the Grand Vizier, the Reis Effendi, the Shekeeb Effendi, and the Sheikh Islam—Introduction to Greek Patriarch. Liturgies of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Gregory. The Patriarch visits Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff preaches at the Legation, and in other Places—Kindness of Lady Canning. Letter from the Honourable Mr. Wellesley. Dr. Wolff embarks for England. Arrives at Smyrna—Meets there Lord Clarence Paget and the Reverend H. D. Leeves. Quarantine of Malta—Lord Lorton visits Dr. Wolff in Quarantine—The Bishop of Gibraltar also sees him in Quarantine. Then sails for Gibraltar; on his arrival there receives Letters from the Governor, Sir Robert Wilson, and the Reverend Dr. Burrow. Reaches Southampton on April 9th—Letter of Bishop Doane—Meets at Southampton Captain Grover, Lady Georgiana, and his Son—Starts for London—Returns Thanks to Almighty God for his Preservation, in Trinity Church, Gray's Inn-road. Public Meeting at Exeter Hall—Noble Character of Captain Grover. Letter from the Rev. R. W. Stoddart. Correspondence and Papers relating to the Fate of Lieutenant Wyburd—Dr. Wolff rejects the proffered Reward for the recovery of Lord Ellenborough's Letter. Correspondence with Mr. Schwarz regarding Giovanni. Pope Pius XI. a Personal Friend and Pupil of Dr. Wolff—his liberal Sentiments; his Piety and Benevolence. Prince Hohenlohe, the Miracle-monger—his unworthy Qualities—his Hypocrisy detected and punished. General Jochmus. Strictures on the Bishopric of Jerusalem. Government repays the £400 advanced by Captain Grover. Conclusion. . . . . 464—503.

MISSION OF DR. WOLFF

TO BOKHARA.

CHAPTER I.

Mysterious state of the Pagan World. Life of Dr. Wolff—converted to Christianity—banished from Rome—begins his Missionary labours in 1821. From 1821 to 1826 occupied in Missions among the Jews in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Crimea, Georgia, and Ottoman Empire. From 1826 to 1830, similarly occupied in Ireland, Holland, and the Mediterranean. Commences a fresh Mission in 1831. In Asia Minor meets with Armenians; passes thence to Kurdistaun. Adventures with the head-tearer, Muhammed Kale Kaan Kerahe. Is made a Slave—saved from his captivity by Abbas Mirza. Arrives at Meshed—goes to Sarakhs, Mowr, Karakol, and Bokhara, where he is well treated by the Ameer. Crosses the Oxus to Balkh—thence to Peshawr—enters the Punjaub—proceeds to Simlah. Kindly received by Lord and Lady William Bentinck. Crosses into Cashmeer—conversation with Fakeers, Brahmins, and Muhammedans. Reaches Delhi—then Agra. Cawnpore; meets here with Lieutenant Conolly—kindness of Lieutenant Conolly. Lucknow; disputes with the Muhammedan Mullahs before the king of Oude. Benares; remarks on the Buddhists. Visits Calcutta—Masulipatam—Hyderabad. Seized with Cholera Morbus. Reaches Madras—Trichinopoly—Cochin; meets here with black and white Jews. Goa—Poonah—Bombay—Mocha—Jiddah—Suez—Cairo. Reaches Malta, March 20th, 1834. Prepares his Travels for publication.

"VERILY Thou art a God that hidest Thyself! O God of Israel, the Saviour!" This must be the exclamation of every man whose eye has attentively marked the ways of Providence in the East. To one who, like myself, has gazed on the children of the Gentiles in their large scatterings, and on my own Israel in her deep dispersions, the above passage comes home to the soul with all the deep and solemn impression that a sinking sunset in a tropical land produces.

The heart is filled with the deep mysteries of creativeness, when it reflects on the wonderful providences of God in the yet partial revealing. To me the darkness that has gathered over the earth appears now dissipating,—the iron scourge of the church of God for thirteen centuries seems fast corroding in its strongest hold, and the prophecies of its downfall seem rapidly hastening to fulfilment. The powerful force of events of this character has attracted the attention of even the busy politicians of the East, and they have owned that they see the action of a more than ordinary might, and the Turks themselves speak clearly of the speedy rule of the Giaour.

My own life has been as the scenes I have witnessed. I began life as one of the dispersed people of God. At an early period I received pure Christianity in the schools of the enlightened Friedrich Leopold, Count of Stolberg, the well-known poet, celebrated Greek scholar, and statesman; next from the distinguished Roman Catholic bishop Johannes Michael Sailer, Frint at Vienna, Bolzano at Prague, and the writings of Fenelon, Pascal, and Bossuet. I was then introduced to that excellent Pope, Pius VII., to Cardinal Litta, and the present Cardinal Ostini, and entered the Collegio Romano, and then the Propaganda at Rome; and though I am indebted to the Propaganda for many excellent things I witnessed, and though I shall always feel obliged to speak with gratitude of Pius VII. and Cardinal Litta, I nevertheless heard many sentiments and saw many practices in the church against which my conscience revolted, and I was openly obliged to protest against them, which induced Pope Pius VII. and Cardinal Litta to decree my banishment from Rome. I was escorted by twenty-five gens-d'armes out of the city of Rome, after I had been in the custody of Signor Degeler, the Avocato of the San Uffizio, who posted a dwarf to watch me until the arrival of the Corriere del Gabinetto with a carriage, in which I quitted the city with a member of the San Uffizio at my side.

In the convent of Val-Saint, in Switzerland, amongst the monks of the order of the Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris, or the so-called Ligorians,* I became still more convinced that my sentiments differed from those of the Church of Rome. I therefore came to Cambridge in the year 1819. Under the direction of Professor Lee I studied the Persian and Arabic, and by the fatherly attention of that holy man, the Rev. Charles Simeon, of King's College, Cambridge, I acquired theology; and when this further light broke in upon me, became a member of the Church of England. My inner world has thus been as this outer, in which I have walked.

Let me now, in connexion with the causes that produced the present work, give a brief summary of the past labours that led to my last mission. I began in 1821, and accomplished in 1826, my missionary labours among the dispersed of my people in Palestine, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia, Krimea, Georgia, and the Ottoman Empire. My next labours among my brethren were in England, Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and the Mediterranean, from 1826 to 1830. I then proceeded to Turkey, Persia, Tūrkistaun, Bokhara, Affghanistaun, Cashmeer, Hindūstaun, and the Red Sea, from 1831 to 1834. Bokhara and Balkh—when, in 1829, at Jerusalem—occupied especially my attention, on the ground that I expected to find in them the traces of the lost Ten Tribes of the Dispersion. This led to my first visit to Bokhara. Before, however, I proceed to this, I am induced, at the solicitation of many kind friends, to dwell on a few leading circumstances anterior to my arrival in that city. They will also be necessary, in great part, to the clear understanding of the subsequent portion of this narrative.

In passing through Asia Minor, I held numerous and

* The monks of Val-Saint flagellated themselves every Friday. I gave myself one blow, but as I did not like it, I left it off. I observed, however, that Joseph Srna flagellated the wall instead of his body.

interesting conversations with the Armenians and the Mussulmans. With the latter especially I omitted no opportunity that was afforded me, consistent with their habits, of inculcating a far higher reverence for Christ than that profound respect even in which they hold his name. I omitted no opportunity, I say also, of examining both Armenian, Persian, Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek MSS. In the Armenian Bible, for example, I found an important variation. In Daniel viii. 14, they read 2068; whereas, in our version it is 2300. In this passage, a MS. in the possession of the Jews of Bokhara reads 2400* instead of 2300. With the Yeseedee, or worshippers of the devil, I held long conversations. This singular people, amid one of their strange rites, dance annually around the ruins of ancient Babylon. Another of the notions of this strange people is, that (if a circle be drawn round them) they would rather die within it than attempt to escape out of it, unless a portion of the circle be effaced. The analogy between this notion and the magician's charmed circle, can escape no one.

In Kurdistaun I had long conferences with the Jews, whom I found possessed of much learning. I spoke with them in Hebrew and Chaldean, which they mix considerably with Turkish. Several rabbins, however, spoke Hebrew remarkably well. I had also, in Teheraun, affecting interviews with the Jews, in which I expounded to them the Scriptures. Various curious conversations that I had with the Sheahs, or followers of Ali, in Persia, would fill volumes. With the Guebres, or worshippers of fire, how often also have I conversed in Shiraz, Isfahan, and Kashaun! How singular and wild the aspect of the sons of fire! How analogous their angel history to the Jewish! How similar to the rites of Vesta! How like that early adoration when my people bowed

* The Vatican edition of the LXX has the same reading, Dan. viii. 14. Καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Ἕως ἑσπέρας καὶ πρωΐ ἡμέραι δισχίλιαι καὶ τετρακόσιαι καὶ καθαρισθήσεται τὸ ἅγιον.

to the luminous Shechinah of the Lord! Yet if idolatry has been rife on my path, rarely has my step fallen where I did not trace Christianity. In Egypt I found the Kopts; in Palestine the Maronites, Syrians, Greeks, Armenians, and Armenian Catholics; in Mesopotamia, at Merdeen, Mosool, Arbel, and Bagdad, I met the Jacobites, the followers of Nestorius, and Roman Catholics; in Asia Minor, at Trebizond, Bayazid, Shooshe in Karabagh, again Armenians; at Tiflis, the Georgians. Again, how singularly did I find in these regions the same great differences of Calvinism and Arminianism that exist among ourselves. We are too apt to look on the Muhammedan as a fatalist; but in Mecca, as well as elsewhere, the limits of the will are freely discussed. Haje Sheikh Muhammed told me, in the words of Milton, "Foreknowledge of God does not affect the free will of men." How external and inextinguishable also appeared the customs of the East! For instance, the shepherd precedes his sheep, and his sheep follow him; the judges sit under the gate; the disciples of the learned pour water on the hands of their masters; the Jews swear by the Temple of Jerusalem, and Jew, Christian, and Muhammedan by their heads; the bride is awakened by the screams of other women, exclaiming, "The bridegroom cometh;" torches are carried before her at midnight; the war about wells, as in the time of Moses and Jacob, still subsists in Yemen; the lamentations over a nurse are also continued; the names of people are still given to indicate the events of the period; the king bestows a name significative of his employ on his minister; the lepers sit outside the gates of cities; bad vines are called 'vines of Sodom;' holy places are approached by putting the shoes from off the feet; the scarf is wrought on both sides; the Rechabite plants no vineyard, sows no seed, lives in tents; the Derveesh, like the Nazarite of old, still makes vows that no razor shall come upon his head; barren women still perform pilgrimages to holy places, and this state is held in abhor-

rence, as in ancient time; Armenian women vow, like Hannah of old, that if they receive a son, he shall be devoted to God; cities of refuge for the shedder of blood unawares still subsist, and the person guilty of blood must flee with his family, like the first murderer, to other places.

From various conversations with Affghauns in Khorassaun and elsewhere, I learnt that some of them are proud of an origin from the children of Israel, but I doubt the truth of that partial tradition. Amid the khans of Khorassaun, Muhammed Izhak Kerahe of Torbad Hydarēa, the Rustam of the East, was the most remarkable for ferocity. At Sangerd the caravan was attacked by robbers: one of them seized my horse, crying out, "*Pool!*" (money); I gave him all I had. I was soon surrounded by others, stripped even of the shirt on my back, and had a rag covered with vermin thrown over me, and was brought out into the highway, where all my fellow-travellers of the caravan were assembled, weeping and crying, and bound to the tails of horses. The robbers were twenty-four in number. We were driven along by them in continual gallop, on account of the approach of the Tūrkomauns; for if the Tūrkomauns had found them out, our robbers would have been made slaves by them, they being Sheahs themselves. During the night three prisoners escaped. At two in the morning we slept in a forest. They had pity on me, and gave me a cup of tea made of my own; they then put a price on me and my servant, valuing him at ten and myself at five tomauns. They took his money from him, by which I found that he had previously robbed me of sixteen tomauns. After this we were put in irons. They consulted about killing me, but did not do so, from fear of Abbas Mirza. The promise of a good ransom at Torbad Hydarēa saved my life. The first question put by the robbers, openly before the people of Torbad, was, "How is the tyrant Muhammed Izhak Khan going on? Is he not yet dead?"

"No," they replied; "but one of his sons is dead."

"A pity that he died not himself," returned the robbers; "then we should be free from that tyrant, and not be obliged to plunder people in the path, and eat the *bread of blood.*"

We saw hundreds of blind persons, of both sexes, near the gate of Torbad. The robbers turned to me, and said, "Do you see these blind men and women? Their eyes were taken out by that eye-cutting and head-tearing tyrant Muhammed Izhak Khan, of Torbad Hydarēa.* God curse him, and curse his house! curse him in his getting up,—curse him in his lying down! God curse his wife, and the fruit of her womb! and may he that has made many widows, may he die, that the dogs drink his blood, that his wives may be widows and his children orphans!"

Though naked, they examined us narrowly as we entered Torbad, thinking we might have money concealed about us. I exclaimed, שמע ישראל, "Hear, Israel," (a common exclamation of my countrymen throughout the world,) and was soon surrounded by Jews. They pledged themselves that I should not run away, received me to their homes, where I preached to them the Gospel of Jesus. They were quite ignorant of his history, sufferings, and death, which also convinces me that the Jews of Khorassaun and Bokhara are of the Ten Tribes who never returned to Palestine after the Babylonish captivity. Therefore there still remains to be fulfilled the prophecy recorded in Ezekiel xxxix. 28: "Then shall they know that I am the Lord their God, which caused them to be led into captivity among the heathen: but I have gathered them unto their own land, *and have left none of them any more there.*"

The next day I was desired to go back to the robbers, when I was suddenly put into irons, and chained with the

* He places his hands on the head of his subjects, and literally, from his enormous strength, rends the scalp, and it is said sometimes the skull, of his victims.

rest of the slaves. One of the slave-sellers, a malicious Kurd, squeezed the irons over my legs crossways, to pain me still further. My fellow-slaves, though bound in one common chain, cursed me incessantly. The director of the police said, "To this infidel you must give neither water to drink nor a galyoon to smoke, for he is *nedshas*, 'unclean.' If he is thirsty, he may go to the well and drink, like any other dog." Suddenly, in the midst of my persecutions, a man appeared, who exclaimed, "Is any Englishman here?" "Yes, yes!" was my exclamation. The chains were removed, a soldier of Abbas Mirza had arrived with a letter from Muhammed Izhak Khan, ordering him to release me. He gave instant orders to that effect, and bastinadoed the robbers, wishing the whole matter to appear as done without his consent. I was brought before him. He is a tall stout man, with very large eyes, of black complexion, never looking into your face, but with a down glance, a deep thundering voice. His sword, they say, is continually girt about him, and he does not lay it aside even in the bath. No one knows where he sleeps. He was seated upon a high throne, all others standing at a distance, terror in every look. He demanded what sum had been taken from me. I replied, "Eighty tomauns." He got it from the robbers, but kept it himself. He then said, "You came here with books, in order to show us the right way: well, go on." This personage I shall again introduce to my readers on my second visit to these regions, which has led me to be thus ample in my present statement.

On my arrival after these matters at Meshed, I had long interviews with my nation. The Jewish Sooffees of this place acknowledge Moses, Jesus, Muhammed, and 124,000 Prophets. They are under small moral control. They have a poem in Persian, written with Jewish-Persian characters, called *Youssuf-u-Zuleika*, 'Joseph and Zuleika,' describing the love of Potiphar's wife for Joseph. They have *Hafix*

in a similar character. They speak of an exoteric and esoteric religion, like the philosophers of old. I reasoned with them on their flagitious violations of morality, and the insincerity of their conduct; that they knew that they were in the wrong, and that they stood in need of faith in Jesus Christ in order to be saved. They observed that I was the second Englishman they had seen who was attached to the Book; THE FIRST WAS LIEUTENANT ARTHUR CONOLLY. How singularly have I followed his steps, even up to the hour almost of his death! He was at Meshed in 1829. I wrote of him, before I knew that I should be so remarkably connected with the inquiry into his death, as follows: "He is an excellent, intrepid, and well-principled traveller. The misfortune of this gentleman was, that he had no interest with great men; on which account he was not remunerated for his journeys to Meshed, Heraut, and Candahar." After this, it will again and again be seen how closely I have followed my pious and excellent friend's path in the various regions he has trod.

At Meshed, his royal highness Abbas Mirza ordered me to be brought before him. After kind inquiries of my health, he deeply regretted my captivity in Khorassaun; and told me, when I went to Bokhara, to assure the Ameer that he had no intention of taking his country, but that he was determined to put a stop to slavery. He wrote with his own hand both a pass for me and certificate of the object of my journey to Bokhara. Meshed is a grossly immoral place, despite its holy character. The number of pilgrims that arrive at the tomb of Imaum Resa amounts to twenty thousand.

From Meshed I proceeded through Tūrkistaun; and first let me speak of Sarakhs, a place of doubtful origin in its etymological root. Some derive it from the Arabic *zara*, sowing; others from *sarak*, to steal. It is the country of slave-stealing, and therefore this latter etymon is not improbable. Eighteen hundred families of Tūrkomauns, of the celebrated tribe of Salor, live there. I lectured on this spot

with deep earnestness to the Jews, and I believe made many permanent impressions, which I found confirmed on my second visit. All the Jews of Tūrkistaun assert that the Tūrkomauns are the descendants of Togarmah, one of the sons of Gomer, mentioned in Genesis x. 3. The Tūrkomauns have no mosque; they pray apart from each other, either in the field or the tent. Twice in the year they assemble in the desert, and prefer their prayer. I passed hence to Mowr, and thence to Jehaar-Joo,—two places of which I shall discourse at greater length when I enumerate them on my last tour in that direction.

I passed then to Karakol. The governor of this place, Muhammed Hussein Khan, was formerly a Guzl-Bash slave, but gained the favour of Shah Hydur, and was exalted to the position of Ameer and governor of Karakol. When I told him that my object was to inquire into the state of the Jews, and hold friendly intercourse with the Muhammedans at Bokhara, he advised me to do nothing without consulting the Goosh-Bekee, or vizier. He also demanded my opinion about the mullahs issuing Fetwa, or Bulls, that the Tūrkomauns should make slaves of the Guzl-Bash. I replied that I disapproved of it. He then, after many cautions, requested me to write him out a prayer for his devotions, which I did, in Persian, and advised him to read it daily.

After this I entered Bokhara. I then presented my letters, underwent much rigid questioning from the Goosh-Bekee on various points, such as whether Muhammed was predicted in our sacred books, my belief in Jesus, and the objects of my journey. I then explained to the Jews my mission, read in their synagogue the law of Moses, but discontinued any further participation in their services.

The king, Behadur Khan, was then twenty-eight years of age. He spends his mornings in reading the Arabic writings of Jelaal and Bydawee with the mullahs, visits the grave of Baba Deen, a sanctified derveesh of Bokhara, and hears causes

of dispute during the remainder of the day among his subjects. He is terribly dreaded by his ministers.

The Jews in Bokhara are 10,000 in number. The chief rabbi assured me that Bokhara is the Habor, and Balkh the Halah, of 2 Kings xvii. 6; but that in the reign of Ghengis Khan they lost all their written accounts. At Balkh the Mussulman mullahs assured me that it was built by a son of Adam; that its first name had been Hanakh, and afterwards Halah, though later writers called it Balakh, or Balkh. The Jews, both of Balkh and Samarcand, assert that Tūrkistaun is the land of Nod, and Balkh where Nod "once stood." In this land of Cain the Jews bear a *mark*, by order of the king of Bokhara, in order that no Mussulman may give them *salaam*, peace. To Rabbi Joseph Mooghrubee, an African, the Jews of Bokhara owe the restoration of their ancient customs: they had nearly lost all trace of them, in their sojourn among Muhammedans. This great man, I was assured by his son-in-law, Rabbi Pinehas Ben-Simha, used to say, "Oh, Lord! when will the time come that the followers of Jesus will take possession of these countries?" This son-in-law is now a Christian, and was converted by me; and so are many others of the Jews at present in Bokhara. Jews came to me here from Samarcand, Khokand, and other places: the total population was then about 13,600. I found the epileptic convulsion, which produced such an effect for Muhammed among a people who call "gasping" inspiration, currently handed down; and I have little doubt that, like madness and idiotcy, they were no mean agents of his power among a people that look on the victims to these maladies as the inspired of God. The tradition is an old one at Bokhara, that some of the Ten Tribes are in China. I tried the Jews here on various points of Scriptural interpretation, particularly that important one in Isaiah vii. 14,—עלמה *virgin*. They translated it as we Christians do, and they are in total ignorance of the important controversy between Jews and Christians on that point.

I obtained a passport from the king after this most interesting sojourn, and then crossed the Oxus, and arrived after a few days at Balkh; and from that city, where I also communed with the dispersed of Israel, I proceeded to Muzaur, the spot where Ali's camel disappeared miraculously at his tomb. Hither came pilgrims from Affghanistaun, Cashmeer, Khokand, Shahr-Sabz, Hindūstaun, Khiva, and Bokhara. Hence I proceeded to Cabūl, in Affghanistaun. Some Affghauns claim a descent from Israel. According to them, Affghaun was the nephew of Asaph, the son of Berachia, who built the temple of Solomon. The descendants of this Affghaun, being Jews, were carried into Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, from whence they were removed to the mountain of Ghoree, in Affghanistaun, but in the time of Muhammed turned Muhammedans. They exhibit a book, *Majmooa Alansab*, or 'Collection of Genealogies,' written in Persian. My readers will find these examined in my former work,* but here I shall only allude to it. There is a great air of *vraisemblance* about it, and their pedigree is sometimes traced, like our Lord's, through the female branch, which proves how futile is the Jewish objection, on that head, to our Lord's descent.

Hence I passed to Peshawr. Here I had also the singular book read to me of the origin of the Affghauns, the Poshtoo Book of Khan Jehaun Loote. The account in this book agrees with that given in the MSS. *Teemur Nameh*, and *Ketaub Ansabee Muhakkek Toose*. I thought the general physiognomy not Jewish, but I was wonderfully struck with the resemblance that the Youssuf Szeye and the Khaibaree, two of their tribes, bear to the Jews. The Kaffer Seeah-Poosh, if Affghauns, vary widely from the rest of their nation. Many travellers have thought them the descendants from Alexander's army, but they do not say so. They have no exact account of their origin. Their rites are most singu-

* *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews, Muhammedans, and other Sects.* By the Rev. Joseph Wolff. Nisbet: London, 1835.

lar. In a large house called Imr-Ama,* they offer a cow and sheep in sacrifice: they sprinkle the blood upon an idol seated upon a horse. They have a throne of stone, upon which some words are written, taken from the *Taurat*, the Pentateuch of Moses. They hold distinctions of clean and unclean animals. When a child is born, they turn the mother out of the village, in order that it may not be unclean: the mother and the child remain three days in the fields. They worship a god, Imra, and pictures of their dead. They offer sacrifices to both. They put fire in the Imra-Tan, *i. e.* the place where God is worshipped, and another blazes before the idol. They offer butter and flour, which they pour upon the idol, exclaiming, *Hehamaj Otu*, 'Accept it;' and before the place of their god (Imra-Tan) they say, *Hehamaj Imra*, 'God, accept it.' The whole congregation exclaims, *Hehamaj*. After this the Otu, or priest, reads prayers. These are not remarkable for their charity: one is, "Increase our property; do not make us sick; and kill the Mussulmans." After every prayer they say, *Hehamaj*, and then kiss their fingers. Their idols are of wood and stone, gigantic human figures. They know but little of a future state, and their rites are largely Pagan. I always thought that the Kaffer Seeah-Poosh were descendants of Israel; and some of the learned Jews of Samarcand are of my opinion.

From Peshawr I entered the Punjaub, May 29th, 1832. The Seikhs have a high veneration for our Lord. In their holy book they have written, that rays like the sun went out of the hand of Christ. At Jehaungeer, Serdar Hung Singh welcomed me in the name of the Maharajah. He was surrounded by his officers and soldiers. To him I had the satisfaction of reading the sermon of Jesus on the Mount, which all listened to with great apparent delight. This man was a

* I verified on my last visit at Bokhara the exactitude of this account for *Imra* is god, and *Ama*, house.

devout person. My conversation at Umritzer, after quitting Lahore, with the Lion of the Punjaub, the Maharajah Runjeet Singh, my readers will find detailed at length in the work I have previously quoted. Runjeet Singh dismissed me with handsome presents.

Crossing from the country of Runjeet Singh, the Punjaub, which will soon become a British possession, much to the advantage of the Seikhs, I visited our first British station in that direction, Loodianah, on the utmost northern frontier of India, and the hospitable dwelling of Captain Wade, now Sir Claude Martin Wade. Arriving hence, after one station, at Roopor and Budde, I was received in the most cordial manner by my dear deceased friend, Sir Jeremiah Bryant, and proceeded thence to Simlah, where I was also most hospitably received by Lord and Lady William Bentinck, and invited to be their guest. Here I entered into a most interesting correspondence with Captain Riley, the best Arabic scholar in India, and also with the Roman Catholic bishop of Agra. The points I mooted were, the aid Muhammed received in composing the *Koran*; the monk Boohyra; the Jews of Khybur, who were nearly exterminated by him; the great Muhammedan divisions of Sunnees and Sheahs; the Jewish estimate of the book of Daniel; also on the black and white Jews of Cochin and Malabar, and the extent of Muhammedan knowledge. Captain Riley, I was surprised to find, looked on the Affghauns as of Jewish descent. He pointed out to me two important forms, in which all refutations of the *Koran* ought to be shaped; and numerous other equally interesting questions were discussed by this true believer, in a most learned and Christian spirit.

Obtaining leave to pass into Cashmeer from Runjeet Singh, by means of Lord William Bentinck, I crossed accordingly first to Belaspoor, where I found its Rajah luxuriating in having apes trampled to death under the feet of elephants; and little worthy of note passed until I reached Nadown.

Here the Rajah, on horseback, surrounded by soldiers, was performing his devotions before three naked Fakeers. I immediately entered into conversation with them, and inquired of one of them how long he had been a Fakeer. He replied that "he lived in God, and should never die; for that as old garments were exchanged for better, so the man of God lays aside his old body, and puts on a new one." A beautiful answer; but when I wished to reply, he kept exclaiming, "Be silent and listen." I seized, however, despite of him, on an opportunity to point out the truth of our revelation. An unhappy peevishness marks all these ascetics. St. Jerome was not free from it. Father Clemens Maria Hoffbauer, late vicar-general of the order of the Ligorians, or Redemptorists, a man of high repute for sanctity, confessor to Friedrich Schlegel, was as peevish as the Fakeer of Nadown. Whenever a person wished to speak, he had a habit of exclaiming in the rudest manner, "Halt dein Maul,"—'Hold your tongue.' Certainly he forgot the great rule of a saint of the church, that the Christian is the most *finished* gentleman, for he offends in nothing. True peace of mind dwells not necessarily in caves and grottoes, on the pillar of a Simon Stylites, or in the deserts of the Thebais with Antony. Active energy in promoting truth and virtue is worth all the sedentary graces of Fakeers, Monks, or Solitaries. I do not impugn their merits in their *peculiar* path, but it is obviously not one of *general* obligation. Simon Stylites, however, was more practical than is commonly supposed; he preached to thousands of Arabs, as did Antony also.

I cannot detail the numerous interesting conversations on the *Vedas* and other works, which I entered into in this country with various Hindūs, until I reached Cashmeer, the city of the Genii, who bore Solomon through the air to see its magic beauty. I was disappointed with its present state. I inquired out the chief mullahs, and commenced various conversations with them; with a descendant of the false prophet,

Muhammed Shah Nakshbandee, especially. He received me with great cordiality. He actually read, in Persian, to his disciples the 24th and 25th chapters of Matthew; and I then spoke of regeneration, and they read the 3rd chapter of John. All the Brahmins I met with had an unlucky habit of affirming that what I said was in the Shastar, and used no further argument. Perceiving this, I demanded on one occasion of the venerable Brahmin Sheuram, "In how many gods do you believe?" "There is one God," said he, "but he has many names. The whole earth stands upon the serpent Sheshnag; she has 1000 teeth and 2000 tongues; with every tongue she pronounces every day a new name of God; and this she has done for centuries on centuries, never repeating a name once pronounced." A similarly wild account was given in reply to a question on the history of the creation, with confused traces of truth in it.

I must, however, observe, that there is far more of original truth in the *Vedas* than in the *Koran*. I see in the Koran nothing else but a pretended prophet without miracles, a faith without mysteries, and a morality without love: a shallow deism, which takes hold of the heart, and does not make it better, but worse. Hence the intolerant fanaticism which has produced nothing but death and destruction. Muhammedanism has been founded by the sword, and Muhammedanism shall be destroyed by the sword.

The Hindūs will be converted, but the Muhammedans destroyed. We find hundreds of Hindūs already converted by the zeal of Roman Catholic and Anglo-catholic missionaries, but we do not find six Muhammedans, especially among the Turks. I can only trace two Persians, and one Arab. Buchanan was misinformed wholly by the infamous apostate Sabat. Missionaries would, however, do a great deal more good, if, instead of attempting to confute the errors of the different religions, they were to try, first of all, to find out what is intrinsically good in each, and then to show to those

who embrace it how far their previous notions harmonize with the prime verity in Christianity. They ought also to indicate how far all religions have one common source; and I do not hesitate to affirm, that Christian missionaries will find, by the adoption of such a method, that they will gain more insight into Christianity itself. Intercommunion on these matters is too much neglected among the several faiths. The observation repeatedly meets the ear, "Take care that you do not fall into the error of the Papists, or of the Muhammedans, or of the Hindūs;" but in guarding against extremes, people often omit to notice what is really excellent.

While here, Moulavie Khyr Addeen, writer of the *History of Cashmeer*, came to me. With him I had a discussion for four hours about the divinity of Jesus, and it did small credit to his knowledge of modern history. One of his proofs for the truth of the Muhammedan religion was, that all the Christian powers are subjects of, and give tribute to, the Sultan of Constantinople. I settled that point by alluding to Sir E. Codrington's settlement of the battle of Navarino. The Brahmins and Pundits listened with great attention.

It was my intention to have passed into Thibet, but the snows prevented me. I left Cashmeer on October 21st, 1832. On our route we were accompanied by fugitives from Cashmeer, flying from the oppression of Runjeet Singh. Women, walking destitute of every thing, carrying their children on their heads: they told me, in their powerful language, that they inherited the beauty of angels, but that all beauty had withered under the dominion of the Seikhs. They told me, *en route*, many a singular legend of the celebrated Fakeers, that died at Cashmeer. Ameer Kebeer, king of Hamadan, forsook the world, and became a Fakeer in Cashmeer. Huzrut Mukhdoom Sheikh Hamsa had three hundred thousand disciples. Shah Kasem Akhanee said, "When you shall see corn growing upon my grave, then the day of resurrection is nigh at hand." The people of Cashmeer assured me that

corn had begun to grow upon his grave, and therefore they consider my words to be true,—that Jesus will come.

After various journeys, I reached Delhi on December 6th, and was introduced to the Mogul, who gave me a robe of honour. While at Delhi, in the presence of several thousand Muhammedans, I conversed with the grand mullah,—a man of great scientific renown, Muhammed Izhak. He sent me a letter at some length, detailing the grounds of his belief in the *Koran*; of the ascent of Muhammed into heaven; of his return; that he was the last of the prophets, and stated to be such by the prophets. To this I simply replied, that I wanted proof of two things: 1st. That Muhammed went to and returned from heaven. 2nd. Those prophets who had prophesied his mission. To this he replied, that Muhammed's mission was clear, from the numerous miracles he worked; next, from the divine and superhuman perfection of the composition of the *Koran*, the bodily strength of the Prophet, his numerous adherents; and he concluded by demanding what proof I had that Jesus was the *last of the prophets*. I replied, 1st. That none of these numerous miracles were recorded in the *Koran*. 2nd. That a mere matter of critical style, such as the composition of a book, could not be considered as a grave argument; and that the most learned Muhammedan scholars of Shiraz were by no means of opinion that the composition of the *Koran* was unrivalled, and if so, still a good composition even might convey untruth. 3rd. That, as we denied the authority of the *Koran*, that could avail nothing in argument. 4th. That Goliath had a bodily strength equal to any, nay, superior to any in his day. 5th. That Buddhism had more adherents than Muhammedanism, if numbers went for any thing; but that information in arts and sciences, in which Europeans were confessedly great, on their own showing, was a much more certain criterion. Lastly, That the proof that Jesus was the *last of the prophets* was not a question with us. I did not

undertake to show *that* absolutely; but Jesus was the end of the law to us,—that if even an angel preached a *new* Gospel, he should be held accursed; and that therefore I could not believe in Muhammed.

From Delhi I passed to Agra, and thence to various places until I reached Cawnpore. HERE I MET WITH LIEUTENANT CONOLLY. When I travelled first in Khorassaun, in the year 1831, I heard at Meshed, by the Jews, that an English traveller had preceded me there, by the name of Arthur Conolly, as I have already mentioned. They described him as a man who lived in the fear of God and of religion. The moment I arrived he took me to his house, and not only showed me the greatest hospitality, but, as I was at that time short of money, he gave me every assistance in his power; and not only so,—he revised my Journal for me with the most unaffected kindness. He also collected the Muhammedan mullahs to his house, and permitted me not only to discuss with them the subject of religion, but gave me most substantial assistance in combating their arguments. Conolly was a man possessed of a deep Scriptural knowledge,—a capital textuary; and I bless God that he enjoyed that comfort in his captivity, that inward light, when the iron of tyranny—in his case as in that of holy Joseph—entered into his soul. Various enemies are always found to attack the lone missionary. Nobly and well did this gallant soldier acquit himself in the church militant, both in deeds of arms and deep devotion to the cause of Christ. In 1838 I again met with him in England. Here our friendship was renewed. At Constantinople I learnt he expressed his deep affection for me to Count Stürmer. I often wished to repay him my debt of gratitude; and the instant the news reached me of his captivity in Bokhara, I offered my aid to release him in letters to his family. I was given to understand by Mrs. Macnaghten, Conolly's sister, to whom I made the offer of going to Bokhara, that a deep sense of the probability of a

fatal termination to such an undertaking, made the family decline the offer. When I reflect on our past intercourse, it brings with it the pleasing reflection that the spiritual element was mainly dominant in it; that we were together to become daily holier and better men; that our hands did not join in deeds of iniquity, but were upraised to God our Maker and Saviour. His firm conduct at his dying hour reminds us forcibly of the bearing of those brave soldiers who died in the persecution of Decius and Diocletian. I hope to see my Conolly among them at the hour of Christ's coming in glory.

I cannot speak more of Cawnpore, for it is embittered to my memory, and shall pass on to Lucknow. Here I was introduced to the king of Oude, and his Majesty gave me ten thousand rupees,—one thousand pounds sterling. With this money I repaid to John Hookham Frere, who lately resided at Malta, my excellent deceased friend, the sum of five hundred pounds, which he had generously advanced to me to defray the expense of my mission.

His Majesty said he would appoint a day for the mullahs to hear my faith discussed. I held disputations with several Mussulmans of the Sheah persuasion, and lectured here on the prophecies of the second coming of our Lord.

On February the 2nd, in the presence of the king, clothed in royal robes with a crown on his head, I entered into my appointed disputation with the mullahs. Major Low, and my most beloved friends Sir Jeremiah and Lady Bryant, were there also. I cited, in proof of my belief, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah. All the mullahs opened their Bibles, and I stated the argument for the Trinity. A discussion took place on the twenty-first chapter of Isaiah, whence, to my astonishment, they attempted to show from the "burden on Arabia" the mission of Muhammed. This is erroneously translated in the Arabic Bible, "prophecy on Arabia." I proved to them, however, that it meant a prophecy predicting a calamity to Arabia. This of course settled the question.

I must here fully state my hearty conviction—the result of the experience of more than twenty years of travels—of the immense utility of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The Word of God would have been entirely extinct among the Eastern Christians but for that Society. Its copies are in the hands of mullahs of all denominations, not only in Asia, but even in the deserts of Tūrkistaun. The agents they employ are excellent men; I only need mention the Rev. H. Leeves, at Athens, and Benjamin Barker, Esq., at Mytilene, the capital of Lesbos. It is utterly absurd to say that all benevolent societies are to be under the direction of bishops; even the Church of Rome, in her powerful discipline, has never followed this plan,—that all benevolent societies are necessarily to be placed under episcopal control,—nor does the Church of Armenia. We have hospitals without bishops,—why should not the Word of God be circulated by the layman or the presbyter? I thank God that there is also a Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, which does not give only the Bible, but also the Liturgy of the Church of England; for neither the Jews nor the Muhammedans are without a liturgy. And it is a most important feature to show the agreement of the Church of England with other forms of faith in this particular. I confess I should also like to see a society of the Church of England, which should give to the world a systematic theology, both doctrinal and practical; and such a system ought to have the sanction of all the bishops, as well as the learned presbyters of the Church of England: of this I should like to see a transcript in every language, and circulated to the four winds.

I had also a dispute, in writing, with Ameer Sayd Ahmed Mujtehēd of the Sheahs, at Lucknow; but it is too long for me to insert in this brief abstract of my former Indian connexion, which led to my intimacy with Captain Conolly, and to my second journey to Bokhara.

From Lucknow I passed to Benares, the holy city of India:

whoever dies there will obtain *Inokshu*, 'absorption into the Deity.' I consider this is little better than the comfortable system of *Nirwana*, or 'annihilation,' of the Buddhists, who hold in a final state of annihilation of all things. This is the ultimate boon offered by a faith embraced by the largest portion of the East,—thank Heaven, not of the world, for the Christians now outnumber any other denomination.

This is the case with the spiritualizers in the Christian church: they have an unscriptural, unprophetical, unnatural dislike to hear of any thing but Nature's doom and Nature's death. Nothing will satisfy them but that the world, animate and inanimate, once happy but for a single day, should draw its penance onwards to the utmost longevity of miserable age, and then sink into annihilation. The ghosts of the Lamas of Thibet, who move about in the air, are the sisters of the forms visible in their shadowy Paradise. I do expect to rule over a renovated earth, purified and redeemed, and inhabited by living creatures in flesh and blood, and though in flesh and blood, redeemed from Satan, sin, and death. If a phantomizing system is spirituality, the Buddhists at Lassa, the Sooffees at Shiraz, and the Hindūs at Nadown, might claim analogous influences.

The Hindū writings contain no reference to Jesus in the sacred books. I need scarce particularize the feelings with which, after various wanderings, I lectured in Henry Martin's pulpit at Dinapore. At Giyah, famous for its Hindū pilgrimages, I explained the Gospel in Persian to Hindūs and Muhammedans.

At last the kind Bishop of Calcutta received me in his house on the 22nd March, 1833. Again I experienced in this city the splendid hospitality of Lord and Lady Wm. Bentinck. I lectured to about twelve hundred persons in the town-hall. The Baptist missionaries,—Marshman and the veteran Carey, welcomed me gladly also, and invited me to their splendid and unique establishment at Serampore.

From Calcutta I passed to Masulipatam, whence I visited Hyderabad. While there, the inquiries were proceeding with respect to the Thugs, and I believe that I first laid a complete statement of that question before a British public. As the story of these monsters, exhibiting a totally new form of crime, is now fully known in this country, this wholesale murder and theft system, I shall not here enter into it. On my journey from Hyderabad to Madras, I was attacked with cholera the instant I entered the bungalow of Mr. Bruce of Nellore, at Ramapatam. It was accompanied by cramp and dysentery. With no European near me, I commended my soul to God. My hands and feet became convulsed, but I felt peace in Christ amid all my sufferings. I prayed to Him to send me relief, and I had scarce done so before a voice exclaimed near me, in English, "I see you have the cholera morbus: my husband died of it two months ago." The person who spoke was a half-Indian, or, as she called herself, in humility, a half-caste,—the wife of a serjeant of Vellore, of the name of Gillespie. She gave me a whole bottle of brandy with two hundred drops of laudanum, and other remedies.* These remedies of my female mediciner stopped the vomiting at intervals. Dr. Cooper, sent by Mr. Bruce, arrived next morning; he gave me warm water with salt, and twice, forty grains of calomel; this stopped the vomiting for two hours. He asked me whether I would submit to his putting a hot iron on my stomach. I said, "Yes." He branded me three times, and, God be praised, it stopped the cholera morbus entirely. Four days I remained there; on the fifth I was carried to Nellore, where I remained twenty days in a critical

* The kindness of this woman, and others, convinced me that it is too harsh an assertion to affirm the general depravity of the half-Indians. There are generous and noble-minded people among them, and surely it must be the interest of a great and powerful empire like our own to efface all offensive expressions,—giving an infamy skin deep only to a high-minded and well-educated and numerous class of its subjects. The Governor-general now receives all distinctions of colour at his table. The merchant-princes of Prophecy ought, undoubtedly, to efface all such odious appellations.

state from bilious fever. After this I attempted to proceed in a palanquin to Madras, but at forty miles from Nellore I was attacked with a violent spasm, which obliged my bearers to carry me on their shoulders to a native bungalow. Here Mr. Prendergast, the sub-collector, found me, and dear Dr. Cooper came a second time to assist me. After four days, I reached Madras. I recovered sufficiently to lecture there at St. Thomas on the Mount, a spot where it is believed that St. Thomas the Apostle suffered martyrdom: so says Eastern tradition and many Fathers of the church. I saw here Dr. Rotler, the fellow-labourer of Schwarz. He was eighty-five years of age.

I left Madras August 31st, 1833, and, after various movements, arrived at Trichinopoly. Here I found a hundred and fifty native Christians, observing caste, but relinquishing it at the Lord's table: and here I received an invitation from the most famous missionary of the East, the Rev. Mr. Rhenius, of Palamcottah,—more enterprising, bold, and talented than Schwarz himself. The number of Hindūs to whose conversion he has been instrumental, amounts to twelve thousand. I cannot express the satisfaction I felt at the immense progress he was daily making under my own eyes among the Hindūs. I lectured to them; Rhenius and Shaffter, his fellow-labourer, interpreted, for I did not understand Malabar, and they could not understand Persian.

I must reluctantly pass much, and go on to Cochin, which I was anxious to reach from its well-known Jewish population. I found there black and white Jews celebrating the feast of Tabernacles. Those that are called black Jews are people who became Jews of their own accord at Cranganore, and in other parts of the country, of black and half-black colour. For this reason, the white Jews do not intermarry with them. They have neither priests nor Levites, nor families, nor relations on foreign coasts: they are only found in the Malabar coast. They observe the law as white Jews

do. They are most numerous at Cochin. Many of the black Jews, however, assert that their ancestors became Jews when Haman fell, and affirm (though the white Jews deny it) that they were there when the white Jews came to Hindūstaun. They consider themselves as slaves to the white Jews, pay them yearly tribute and a small sum for the circumcision of their children, and for permission to wear frontlets in prayer time. They do not sit down with the white Jews, nor eat with them. In this they resemble the Americans in the United States, who do not eat with the negro population. The immorality of the white Jews of this place was frightful. I met among them a Polish Jew, a man of extraordinary talents, possessing almost more than the immense facility of his countrymen in general in the acquirement of language. He knew eighteen languages.

I pass intermediate spots and come to Goa, the scene of the labours of the great Francis Xavier. Here around, in all directions, with overflowing eyes I saw the cross of Christ —Christian churches, and the idols of Hindūstaun displaced. The Augustinian convent here is a highly valuable institution. They spoke nobly of Buchanan and his undaunted behaviour before the Inquisition. They condemned it, and agreed with me that our government did right to suggest its abolition in 1810. All their books came from Lisbon. There had been Jews at Goa, they told me, until they were exiled by the Inquisition. The Portuguese viceroy of Goa, Don Manuel de Portugal Castro, corresponded with me on various matters, and expressed his high satisfaction at my labours; he was a nephew to Don Pedro: as did also the government secretary, Nunez. The Jesuits were suspected of having removed the body of Francis Xavier, which was carried there from China, (for he died in China,) at the time of their departure; but it was not so, since, on the inspection of the tomb, the body of that approved servant of God was still found within it.

Proceeding on my journey I came to Poonah, where I arrived on November 21st. I went with the learned missionary of the Scotch Missionary Society, Mr. Stevenson, among the Beni Israel, children of Israel, living at Poonah. They are totally distinct from the rest of the Jews in Europe and Hindūstaun. Soon after the destruction of the first Temple, they came in seven ships, they say, from Arabia to Hindūstaun, where they have since forgotten their law, but continue to repeat in Hebrew certain prayers which they have learnt from the other Jews; they also read the Pentateuch, but without understanding the language. They have synagogues, but they have not, like the rest of the Jews, the Sepher Torah, or, in other words, the Pentateuch written on parchment. They say, "As we are soldiers, and do not keep the law, the Sepher Torah may do us harm if it stands in the midst of us." They serve as soldiers in our armies, and are esteemed the best native troops. They are far superior in morality to the Jews of Cochin. They have, however, in their houses Hindū idols, and seem to trust in charms and amulets. This is a curious and literal fulfilment of the prophecy in Deuteronomy xxviii. 36: "And there shalt thou serve other gods, wood and stone." I questioned them about Jesus: they repeated the current Jewish objections, but did not possess any original views. The Beni Israel amount, around Bombay, to nine thousand two hundred and fifty souls.

I reached Bombay on November 20th, and was received very kindly by Lord Clare, Archdeacon Carr, the Rev. Dr. Wilson, Mr. James Farish, and others. I preached here to many, and especially to the Beni Israel. I went one day while here with that champion of our faith against Muhammedans, Parsees, and Hindūs, the Rev. John Wilson, D.D., who may be called the missionary to the Hindū philosophers, to see a Fakeer celebrated for his austerities. The nails of his hands were grown into and through his cheek. He was

lying in the sun. I asked him, "How can one obtain the knowledge of God?" His answer was, "Do not ask me questions: you may look at me, for I am a god." I have no doubt he thought that he had attained, like Roman saints, to limits beyond mortality; but how sad was the fact, that the penance which he thought had thus elevated, had in reality proportionately depressed him, since the Supreme measures man by his practical might, founded on Gospel truth, and not by his theoretical visions, based upon nothing.

At Bombay I called with Dr. Wilson on Daood Captan, a captain in the Bombay native army, a person of immense obesity. He was of the Beni Israel. He was very much prejudiced against me, believing me to be a magician, and capable of making proselytes to Christianity by forbidden arts. He, with the rest of his people, believed that I had raised the dead from their graves. On my calling on him, he was shaking his fat sides from sheer alarm. On my announcing myself as Joseph Wolff, and requesting him to show me the synagogue, he rudely said, "No, I shall not show it you, for you are a magician." I then muttered something mysteriously to myself, and motioning with my finger, I said to him, "Daood Captan, you are too fat." He grew alarmed, and, fearing the fascination of the Evil Eye, said, "Sir, sir! let my fatness alone." I then said, "Show me your synagogue." He complied immediately.

Hence I passed to Mocha. The high-priest at Sanaa has the title of Ab-Beth-Din—'Father of the Court of Law.' Sixty years ago there was a curious disputation among the Jews of Sanaa. They thought that they could ascertain their genealogy, and that they were in possession of ancient documents to prove this; and a dispute arose among them who was to be greatest. They listened, however, to the wise counsel of Shalom Ben-Ahron, their Nassi, and Rabbi Yahyah Salekh, their Ab-Beth-Din, to destroy their genealogies. The whole congregation of Sanaa rose as one man, burnt

their genealogies, and exclaimed, "Peace! peace for ever in Israel."

I pass my adventures at Loheyah, Massowah, and Jiddah, where I met with the raving St. Simonians. As a proof of the accuracy of their theology, I need only add, that I saw a tract written by a St. Simonian to the Jewish ladies, in which he addressed them in the following manner: "Read the prophecies of Solomon," (who never wrote prophecies,) "and your book of the Prophet Baruch in the Hebrew tongue," (which does not exist in Hebrew). In Jiddah it is said the mother of mankind lies buried: outside the gate of Jiddah they show the tomb of Eve. Jiddah is an Arabic word, and means grandmother,—namely, Eve. Jiddah contains sixty thousand inhabitants. It is the great passage town to Mecca, and seventy-two thousand pilgrims go thither annually: if the number be less, the angels fill up the vacancies, according to Muhammedan tradition. Every pilgrim casts seven little stones at the devil, and sixteen against the devil's two children. The reason of this hard usage of the children is not very apparent.

From Jiddah I embarked for Suez, after I had visited Cairo, and went thence to Alexandria. I arrived from thence at Malta, on March the 20th, 1834. There I remained the greater part of 1834 and 1835, preparing my travels from 1831 to 1834 for publication.

CHAPTER II.

Embarks from Malta for England, March 1835. Leaves England for another Mission, October 1835. Proceeds to Malta—Alexandria—Rosetta—Cairo. From Cairo to Mount Sinai. Monastery of St. Catharine—Trappist M. J. de Geramb. March 29th, 1836, at Tor—thence to Suez. Embarks for Jiddah. Proceeds to Mosawah on the African coast. Adventures in Abyssinia—Languages, Chronology, and Religion of that Country. Zaasega—Tigre—Axum—Gondar—Mount Senafe—Mount Halay. Return to Jiddah. Jeisaun—Beduins. Beni Hobab. Shereef Aboo Mesameer—his Cruelty. Loheya. Ibrahim Pasha. Saneef. Proceeds to Sanaa. Meets with the Rechabites—their kind treatment of him. Saves the Caravan from being pillaged. Jews of Yemen. Sanaa—beaten by the Wahabites. Reaches Mocha—attacked with Typhus fever. Embarks for Bombay—proceeds thence to the United States of North America. New York—enters the Anglo-catholic Church—ordained Deacon by Bishop Doane. Indians not proved to be Descendants of the lost Ten Tribes. Leaves New York, 2nd of January, 1838. Arrives in England—receives Priest's Orders of the Lord Bishop of Dromore—takes the Incumbency of Linthwaite, Yorkshire.

In March, 1835, I embarked for England in the *Firefly*, where I staid till October; but returned to Malta by the 19th for another missionary tour. The first place that I arrived at was Alexandria. There I met, among numerous other individuals, my old friend the celebrated Boghos Youssuf Bey, the Armenian, the prime-minister to Muhammed Ali. Mr. Salt saved him in the very nick of time, for Muhammed Ali had bagged him; he was already *in* the sack, with safe orders for a sufficient allowance of Nile water for the remainder of his life, when the order was countermanded, and by the wonderful vicissitudes of oriental fortunes, he became the prime favourite of the Pasha.

I passed thence, *vid* Rosetta, to Cairo, where I took into my service an Armenian from Tiflis, a most consummate rascal, Bethlehem by name, who had been in the employ of Oubia, the chief of Simean and Tigre in Abyssinia. Of this worthy, Oubia, the interesting work of Major Harris on Shoa gives a good account. This fellow Bethlehem promised to carry me through Abyssinia on his head. He had been sent by Oubia to procure an Aboona from the Kopts; but the Kopts would not send one without the usual fee of six thousand dollars. By the way, Monsieur Fresnel, a gentleman of high oriental acquirements, whom I met there, had married an interesting girl, that I learnt, to my astonishment, was once of the Galla tribe. The chief rabbi of Cairo came this time to see me. He told me, at the beginning of his address, that my having been ten times in Egypt with the same leading object,—proving Jesus to be the Messiah, had certainly produced an effect upon them, for it looked both like pertinacity and sincerity. They received the exposition of my views most kindly; but the rabbi said at the last, that his nation would only be convinced by the actual presence of Jesus in glory.

I left Cairo on the 10th of March, and on the 16th set out for Mount Sinai for the second time. On the 18th I reached Khorandal. The Beduins received me most cordially. Sheikh Hassan introduced his wife to me, that I might bless her, for she was barren. He told me he had married four wives, and divorced three for this cause, but this one he sincerely loved. She, however, often threatens him that she will tear out his beard if he takes another wife. I next visited the convent on Mount Horeb, the monastery of St. Catherine. They all received me well. This time I noted in the 'Book of Strangers' the following lines, written by the celebrated Trappist Geramb: "I arrived here, Feb. 25th, 1833, at the convent of Mount Sinai. On the 28th I lay with my face in the dust on the holy mountain. The Eternal, in his mercy, gave to

Moses, the most ancient of historians, the sublimest of philosophers, and the wisest of legislators, this law, the necessary foundation for our own. Quitted March 3rd. Marie Joseph de Geramb."

March 29th, 1836, I proceeded thence to Tor. I must not omit to mention that I received at Mount Sinai the promised book of Johannes Stauros, a Jew from Bulgaria, converted to Christianity. I read it with great delight; and I perceived that he, like myself, held in a personal reign of Christ. It is also very remarkable, that the monks who had read the book were quite prepared for my view of the question, and themselves entertained it after having carefully read the book. They remarked to me that the 3rd chapter of Habakkuk was a prophecy predicting the final coming of Christ in glory; and they read with great enthusiasm the words, "God came from Teman, and the Holy One from mount Paran. Selah. His glory covered the heavens, and the earth was full of his praise. Before Him went the pestilence, and burning coals went forth at his feet. He stood, and measured the earth: He beheld, and drove asunder the nations; and the everlasting mountains were scattered, the perpetual hills did bow." The superior struck the earth with great animation, exclaiming, "On this spot mighty events shall yet be seen." I cannot endure the manner in which I hear travellers speak of this Hospice of the desert. These monks are excellent people.

A mission for Arabs ought to be established upon Mount Sinai. The missionary might either lodge in the convent of St. Catherine, or in the village called Tor, the ancient Elim: from thence he might make excursions to Akaba and Petra. At Suez, also, a mission might be established.

I reached Suez on April the 6th, 1836, to embark there by the *Hugh Lindsay*, expected from Bombay, for Jiddah. While there, Koodsee Manoole, the British agent, at whose house I resided, and several of the Greek priests, had interviews with me. Some of their strange traditions affected me

much; one was, that Satan was not convinced that Jesus was the Son of God until he had seen the curtains in the Temple rent, the sun darkened, and the earth convulsed. My servant, Bethlehem, in some discussions that took place about the authority of councils, made a judicious remark on one, that "for his part he could not profess himself wiser than three hundred and eighteen Fathers of the church." One can perceive by these remarks of the Eastern Christians, that they have a high respect for ancient councils; and of this we can as little deprive them as we could the Lutherans of their Augsburg Confession, the Church of England of her Thirty-nine Articles, or the Kirk of Scotland of the Westminster Confession.

I embarked in the *Hugh Lindsay* on the 6th May. Singular to say, Mr. Hugh Lindsay was my fellow-passenger in the same ship, which bears his father's name, in 1834, when he came from China: we reached Jiddah on May 11th. I found the Simonians infinitely wilder than on my last visit, advocating a community of women, and that ships ought to be *manned* with women. One Saint Simonian woman married four Frenchmen at the same time; and even the Turkish governor was so scandalized, that he protested against such abomination in one of their holy cities. Here I found a letter from my interesting friend Dr. Charles Ovenden. He afterwards proceeded to the camp of Khursheed Pasha, fell ill, and on my return from Abyssinia I called on him in his last illness. He exclaimed, "God be praised, you are come! Dear Mr. Wolff, pray with me." I remained with him—read to him; he expressed deep repentance for all his sins, gave me the direction of his father in Enniskillen, and died. At Jiddah I met the English travellers Messrs. Bayley and Ormsby. I considered Mr. Ormsby an extremely sensible gentleman. Here I found Hadara, an Abyssinian, and profited by his acquaintance to learn Amharic previous to entering Abyssinia.

I left Jiddah for Mosawah, on the African coast, where I arrived on the 30th May, 1836. Here they speak the purest Ethiopic. The governor of this place told me that there are four great Sheikhs in the world, as there are four quarters of the world; that every Sheikh had forty bodies. Thirty-nine bodies go for nothing, with which he may commit every crime; but with the fortieth he must serve God. On quitting Mosawah, my servant Bethlehem gave me to understand that he was an Abyssinian gentleman, and could no longer act as my servant, but as my escort. No help for this; so I bore it patiently.

The 5th of June we reached Eylet, and thence proceeded to a place inhabited by the Shiho. Our guide was the nephew of the chief who governs the Arabs at Mosawah, called *Nayeb*, (Lieutenant). Here Hadara fired at a wolf which charged us, and he sheered off. Elephants wander about here in great numbers: tigers, also, are not uncommon. We ascended the mountains of Hamazien on the 7th, and reached Asmara on the 9th. The customs of the Abyssinians are peculiar. Their churches resemble synagogues: they are all round buildings. In the first and outer apartment, the congregation sit and pray. There is another smaller division, answering to the Holy of Holies, where the priest enters. They kiss the door-posts on entering the church, put off their shoes, and pray silently. The priests are dressed in white, like the ancient Levites. When the Abyssinian women grind meal, they make bare the leg and the thigh, and have their children on their backs. Every Abyssinian has but one legal wife granted to him by the church; other women are concubines; nor is divorce allowed. They baptize by immersion, and circumcise on the eighth day.

The 10th of June I arrived at Zaasega, where I met Hyloo, the chief of the province of Hamazien, a young man of thirty. His complexion was a brilliant black, and a most good-natured smile played over his whole countenance.

Seven languages are spoken in Abyssinia. The Aboona is the chief spiritual authority. He is always a Kopt, and sent by the Koptic patriarch of Alexandria. He ordains priests and deacons, and lives at Gondar; receives tithes from all property, and his income is about 30,000 dollars. To my utter astonishment, one day while I was conversing with Hyloo and the priests and the people about religion, they all shouted out, "He is our Aboon in disguise." They fell down at my feet, kissed them, and implored my blessing, and desired me to spit at and upon them. I was compelled to perform such an extraordinary sputation, that my throat was completely dry. They compelled me to submit to have my feet washed, and for them to drink the water of ablution. Protestations were useless; but as it is a crime for an Aboona to smoke, I ordered my pipe and smoked. But even this would not convince them; they said it was a feint to deceive them. Hundreds of cows were brought to me as a present, and corn, milk, &c.: and so matters went on until we reached Adwah. The people actually carried me on their shoulders.

The Abyssinians reckon from the creation of the world till now, 1846 A.D., 7336 years; and the present year would stand in their reckoning 1838 A. D. The belief with regard to a future state in the Abyssinian church is, that after death there is a separate state of souls,—the good in Paradise, the evil in Sheol. After the coming of the Lord, the righteous, they say, will be gathered to Him, the evil to Hinnom. Adam and Eve were driven, they say, to a land called Feyt. Enoch and Elijah are now hid in Paradise, and both shall appear at the coming of the Lord. I inquired of their priest, who had called on me, the Gebra Maskal, how men would be saved? He replied, that one must first be baptized, and take the sacrament at a certain age; use confession to a priest, give alms to the poor, and leave off all evil.

On June 18th I left Zaasega with three persons, Mueller an excellent Swiss), Hadara, and Bethlehem. Hyloo gave

orders for a hundred sheep to be killed for us in passing through his country, but we received only two. At Zaffa, which we reached on the 19th, a fertile country thickly inhabited, we heard the people praying in the Ethiopic tongue, using a corrupt liturgy, full of invocations of Mary, angels, and saints. My white appearance shocked excessively the Abyssinian ladies: they called out when they saw me, "Woe unto us! woe unto us! that this Kopt has appeared among us, *white as the devil himself.*" The priests, however, saluted me as Aboon, and implored my blessing. I replied that I was no Aboon. They exclaimed, "Whatever you are, bless us." I did so. Through Kooda Falassee and Kudus Michael Onamaty I was carried on the shoulders of the people. The singular notion that the Abyssinians know how to change themselves into hyænas, I found very prevalent. The warrior chief, one of the finest looking men in Abyssinia, Ghebra Amlak, the length of whose hair reminded me of Absalom, came to me at midnight, and with tears implored my blessing. I said, "I am not your Aboon." He replied, "I know it, father; but bless me, for you are a servant of Christ." He and his soldiers carried me the next day over rocks and mountains for an immense distance on their shoulders. On July 23rd I saw the convent Kudus Gabriel. The monks of Abyssinia have carefully kept up the memory of their great queen, the Queen of Sheba, and Menelik, her son by Solomon, from whom the royal houses of Shoa and Gondar trace their descent.

June 24, 1836. We arrived at a plain called Marab, and at a village named Behesa we found Oubia had been devastating the country. Wald Raphael, the chief of this village, supplied us with a goat. I demanded of him and his people how they punished crimes? They replied, by hanging, crucifying, and stoning; by the infliction of forty stripes save one; and the bodies of criminals were given to the beasts of prey. I gave Wald Raphael three Amharic Testaments and

a Psalter. The great saint of Abyssinia, Tekla Haymanot, made such an impression on the Devil by his preaching, that he actually became a monk forty years. "Cucullus non facit monachum," is certainly true in this instance. Tekla Haymanot stood forty years upon one place, praying, until he broke his leg. Twenty-four elders, more modern traditions say, surround the throne of God with censers in their hands, and Tekla Haymanot is the twenty-fifth. He had six wings like angels.

25th June we arrived at a beautiful village called Shahagee, where my servant Bethlehem told me that, unless I disbursed two thousand dollars, he would get me murdered. I instantly dismissed him.

I arrived at Adwah, the capital of Tigre, June 26th, 1836, where I met Gobat, the missionary. With him I determined to return to Jiddah, for he was very ill. July 26th, I took a dozen of Psalms and Testaments, and went with them to a convent, Abba Kareema, five miles east of Adwah. Here resided one hundred monks, with their superior. I observed the scriptural usage here of pouring water over the hands. The younger priest in a cottage, (for the monks dwell in cottages, two by two,) poured water over the hands of the elder, as Elisha did over Elijah.

August 5th, I visited Axum, the holy city of the Abyssinians, which even the Galla chief that had invaded the country dared not enter, but dismounted from his steed and fell on his face at the sight of it. It is the city of refuge for all criminals. Rupell has given an excellent account of this place.

The utility of convents in the middle ages is abundantly apparent, since even the Vandals who invaded Europe never approached those sacred places, from a reverence for their sanctity. Thus did the monks transmit to us, by their own immunity from surrounding evil, the sacred oracles. Much effusion of blood is daily prevented by the monks in Abys-

sinia, as it was by the Christian monks in the middle age, and is also by the derveeshes of the Muhammedans. The influence of the monastic character is very remarkable over these periods. When the Swiss, in the time of the Emperor Sigismond, were at variance, neither the bishop of Constance nor the ambassadors of the Emperor were able to re-establish peace. The diet was already on the point of dissolving, and the cantons rushing to civil war, when suddenly the hermit Nicholas Von der Flue, who passed by the name of Brother Klaus, commanded peace in the name of Christ crucified, and was instantly obeyed. No traveller could wander in Türkistaun, if the Khaleefa of Mowr would not take the defenceless pilgrim under his protection. What could the great Athanasius have done when flying from the fury of the Arians, if he had not found an asylum in the Thebais among the pious hermits who lived there under the directions of St. Anthony, and made the deserts resound with doxologies to the Son of God?

The church is magnificent. Fifty priests and two hundred monks reside around it. I circulated here gratis many copies of the Psalms of David and the New Testament. Pilgrims came to Axum from Shoa, Gojam, and all parts of Abyssinia. Columns of immense size are standing at Axum, and on my demanding who built them, they answered, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Of the kingdoms of Abyssinia, Shoa is the best regulated: the report that reached me of our new ally, Sahela Selassee, was, that he possessed great political talents, and was beloved by his subjects. His country was surrounded by the Gallas, with whom he preserved friendly relations, and thereby prevented the invasion of his country by the Amhara people. Gondar is the capital of this latter kingdom. Here also exists a descendant of the house of Solomon, but in great poverty, for his knights have divided the country among them. Ras Ali, a Galla chief, plunders Goudar at his pleasure.

Quitting Adwah on the 1st September, with Gobat and his family, and Andreas Mueller and Hadara, I proceeded to Mount Senafe, which I reached on the 10th. The Abyssinians were then celebrating their new-year's day, called *Kuddees Yohanna* (Holy John), in commemoration of John the Baptist. Women, men, children, and beasts are baptized on that day. 12th September I reached Halay, the highest mountain in Abyssinia, twelve thousand feet above the level of the sea.

October 2nd I arrived at Jiddah. Gobat embarked for Kosseyr, whilst I remained behind, as my services were no longer required to protect him. Here I determined to set out to see the Rechabites around Sanaa, previous to my return to Abyssinia. Passing Lyt for the second time, where my leaving a Bible on the tomb of a buried saint created such terror through the whole country that the book was sent to Mecca, I came, October 14th, to Confoodah, where I had a most interesting conversation with the soldiers of the Pasha's army, and Ahmed, an officer in that body, formerly a derveesh. When Ahmed demanded of me whether Saheb Zemaan (the Lord of the Age) must not arrive before Jesus at his second coming? I replied, "Elijah the prophet shall first come;" and should have continued the disputation, which had already extended to some length, but for the drum beating to muster. This coming of Elijah is denied by the greater part of the Protestants. I refer for confirmation of my opinions to Augustin, *Treatise*, iv. 1; John i. 20,—"Art thou Elias? He answered, No." I view John as the forerunner of Christ in one coming, Elias in another. John had the same Holy Ghost as Elias, therefore stood in the spirit and power of Elias. But as Elias must come, and as this is expressly declared, it must be at the second coming.

October 19th we arrived at Jeisaun, a miserable bay for ships, inhabited by Beduins. Here one of the Arab sheikhs of the tribe of Hobab, brother-in-law of Moses, called on me.

He knew Hebrew exceedingly well; and even the Arabic dialect of the children of Hobab is mixed with Hebrew phrases from the book of Moses. They observe outwardly the Muhammedan law, but inwardly are attached to the law of Moses.

It is a remarkable fact, that among all nations where religion is enforced by the civil law, sects will arise, who, if I may so express myself, have two religions; one outwardly observed to avoid exclusion from civil privileges, and the other the religion of the heart, and which they practise in secret. Thus, for instance, the very Beni Hobab of whom we have spoken, confirm this; the Shamseea (worshippers of the sun), in Mesopotamia, outwardly profess Muhammedanism, and in secret are worshippers of the sun. The Daouddee, or the believers in the divinity of king David, among the Bakhtyaree in Persia, the Georgians in Bokhara, though for centuries resident there, inwardly are Christians, outwardly Muhammedans. Full sixty thousand Jews in Spain are outwardly Roman Catholics, but regularly meet in secret, and exclaim, "Hear, Israel! the Lord our God is one Lord," which expression forms their pass-word with each other; and I was struck with amazement to find even in the United States of North America, that many of the Indians, especially among the Cherookees, have adopted outwardly the Protestant religion, in order, as they hope, to prevent Congress from sending them further into the interior.

He informed me, that near Sanaa the other branch of the children of Hobab were encamped, *i. e.*, the Beni Arhab, children of Rechab. A great number of their tribes came down from the mountain Seir. They related to me the history of Moses, of his wandering in the deserts under the guidance of Hobab, who at last refused to go further. "Do you know," said they to me, "Moosa, the prophet of God? The peace of God be upon him! Hobab, our father, was his brother-in-law."

Shereef Ahmood Aboo Mesameer, of the tribe of Hobab, governed in the mountain of the Aseer, for Jeisaun is at the foot of the mountain. He punished criminals by putting a nail in their forehead, and therefore received the name of Aboo Mesameer, 'the father of nails.' I give one anecdote as characteristic of the man.

One of the Banians, or Indian merchants, went one day, by land, from Hodeydah to Aboo Areesh. He was attacked by robbers, who said, "Give up your property." He replied "I am in possession of dollars belonging to Ahmood Aboo Mesameer." The robbers, fearful of being literally *nailed*, left him untouched.

I proceeded thence to Loheya, and from thence to Hodeyda, a town that contains thirty thousand inhabitants. Here were the head-quarters of Ibrahim Pasha, commander-in-chief of Muhammed Ali's troops in Yemen. I do not mean the son, but the nephew of the Pasha. With him I held a very long religious discussion. Amongst other points of our conversation, he advised me to direct my attention to the conversion of Rothschild.

I had also here a long conversation with Muhammed Johar, a learned gentleman, formerly governor of Hodeydah. The Arabs of this place have a book called *Seera*, which treats of the second coming of Christ, and his reign in glory.

I must not omit that, in a visit here to Ibrahim Pasha I missed my way, and had nearly arrived at the harem of the ladies. The Pasha laughed, and said, "I am astonished that such an absent man as yourself should ever have found his way to Bokhara." Hussein Effendi, the present governor of Hodeydah, is the kindest Turk I have met with. I translated to him *The Fridolin and the Crows of Ibycus*, of Schiller.

The heat here was intolerable. How this country got the name of 'Araby the Blest,' I cannot conceive; uncultivated lands, parched up with the burning heat, destitute of all inhabitants, save mountaineers, are, in my opinion, most

unblest regions. All over Yemen there prevails the singular expectation that a mighty man of Arhab, *i. e.* Rechab, will arise and become the sword of Yemen. After passing numerous spots I arrived, on the 26th November, at Beit Alfake, where Muhammed Ali's officers had circulated the report that his beard had become black again,—a certain token, in their notion, that he was to live much longer.

After this I came to Saneef. Its sheikh and inhabitants are of the tribe of Naasraan, *i. e.* Christians, or Moonasera, the Christianized. I requested to learn the history of their tribe. They told me "a disciple of Jesus, Bulus, or Paul by name, came to Yemen unto our ancestors, who had been worshippers of idols, but afterwards became *Naasraan*,* (Christians,) and therefore we have retained the name, though we exclaim now, God, and nothing but God, and Muhammed the prophet of God." Others told me that a certain Bandanos (Pantaenos) came to Arabia, and converted the Arabs to Christianity. I demanded, "Are there any Christians in Yemen? The sheikh replied, "All Yemen, with the exception of the Jews and the children of Rechab, exclaim, There is God, and nothing but God, and Muhammed the prophet of God." Paul says he went to Arabia, in Galatians i. 17.

I gave the sheikh a Bible, as he expressed a deep desire to have one. Saneef is at the foot of the mountain of Borro, inhabited by the tribe of Aram, mentioned in Genesis x. 23. Its inhabitants are Wahabites. They desired Bibles, and I gave some to them.

I left Saneef on November the 29th, and proceeded on the road to Sanaa, which I learnt was besieged by the Rechabites. Of course the caravan with which I was travelling ran no small risk on this account. I therefore took a mule and went on alone to Sanaa, desiring the chief of the caravan to wait until he heard from me. As soon as I had passed Matna, I

* And besides this, many Arabs went to the pillar of Simon Stylites, and he preached to them the Gospel; and thus it spread in Yemen.

saw a swarm of the Rechabites rushing to me, exclaiming, "Hoo, hoo, hoo!" Holding up my Bible, I stopped them at once, and they shouted, "A Jew, a Jew!" We dismounted, and, sitting down, I told them that I saw, twelve years ago, one of their nation in Mesopotamia, Moosa by name. They inquired, "Is your name Joseph Wolff?" "Yes," I replied. They then embraced me. They were still in possession of the Bible I gave to Moosa, twelve years before my arrival in Yemen.

I spent six days with the children of Rechab, (Beni Arhab). They drink no wine, plant no vineyards, sow no seed, live in tents, and remember the word of Jonadab the son of Rechab. With them were children of Israel of the tribe of Dan, who reside near Yerim in Hatramawt, who expected, in common with the children of Rechab, the speedy arrival of the Messiah in the clouds of heaven. Neither party now offers sacrifice. They requested me to remain among them, and teach them the doctrine of the Messiah, as they called the Gospel, and to marry one of the daughters of Rechab. The children of Rechab say, "We shall one day fight the battles of the Messiah, and march towards (Kuds) Jerusalem." They are the descendants of those whom the Muhammedans call *Yehood Khaibar*, who defeated Muhammed in several battles; but they were at last themselves defeated, for they had sinned, and the Lord of Toor (Sinai) was not with them. I sent them to the chief of the caravan to fetch about eighty Hebrew Bibles and Testaments, which I gave them. One of their party, Looloé, belonging to the powerful tribe of Hamdan, a friend of the Beni Arhab, escorted me and the whole caravan safely within the gate of Sanaa, where I entered in the month of December.

Sanaa is called Uzal, (Gen. x. 27,) and exhibits a magnificent spectacle to the eye. It is in a valley surrounded by four mountains. The city has the loveliest of gardens, which furnish pomegranates, grapes, and cherries. The

houses are of stone, four stories high, with terraces to walk on in the cool of the day. Here they show us a very ancient house in ruins, called Kaser Saum, the college of Shem, the son of Noah. The Imaum, or prince, resides in a splendid palace, built in a Gothic style resembling a fortress. He has eight other palaces. Like the Deys of Tunis, and formerly of Algiers, he seldom leaves his palace, and is always afraid of a revolt of his soldiers. He received me very kindly, made me a present of a shawl, a robe of honour, and twenty dollars, for effecting the entry of the caravan. I regret to say he is drunk from morning to night, and the Jews of Sanaa furnish him with brandy and wine. He was sitting on a divaun when I entered, surrounded by black slaves: he is completely black,—as black as a Beduin. He is a man of no talent or energy. He invited me to stay at his palace; but I declined his offer, and took up my abode with the Banians, or merchants from India.

Here I may as well notice the Jews of Yemen generally. While at Sanaa, Mose Joseph Alkaree, the chief rabbi of the Jews, called on me. He is an amiable and sensible man. The Jews of Yemen adhere uniquely to the ancient interpretation of Scripture in the passage Isaiah vii. 14, "a virgin shall conceive;" and they give to the עלמה the same interpretation, *virgin*, that the Christians do, without knowing the history of Jesus. Rabbi Alkaree asserted, that in Isaiah liii. the suffering of the Messiah is described as anterior to his reign in glory. He informed me that the Jews of Yemen never returned to Jerusalem after the Babylonish captivity; and that when Ezra wrote a letter to the princes of the captivity at Tanaan, a day's journey from Sanaa, inviting them to return, they replied, "Daniel predicts the murder of the Messiah, and another destruction of Jerusalem and the temple; and therefore we will not go up until He shall have scattered the power of the holy people, until the thousand two hundred and ninety days are over." I demanded, "Do you

consider these days to be literal days?" The Alkaree replied, "*No;* but we do expect the coming of the Messiah, from the commotions now going on in Yemen. We think he begins to come from Teman, *i. e.* Yemen; for you see the tents of Cushan are now in affliction, and the curtains of Midian tremble. There is now war in the wilderness, unprecedented in our memory. There are twelve gates at Sanaa. As soon as one of them, the Bab Alastraan, which is always kept closed, is opened, we expect *Him*. Rechab and Hamdan are before it." I then expounded Isaiah liii., and read him the holy history of Jesus. He said, "Your exposition is in better agreement with the ancient interpretation: I approve it much more than that of our nation, which ascribes the passage to Josiah." This kind Jew assisted me in the distribution of Testaments among his people. Sanaa contains fifteen thousand Jews; in Yemen they amount to twenty thousand. I conceive the total population of the Jews, throughout the world, amounts to ten millions. I baptized here sixteen Jews, and left them all New Testaments.

A fever seized me while at Sanaa. I left it, and slept the first night with Sheikh Ali, of Looloé, of the tribe of Hamdan. We passed Matria. At Khames, a band of the Wahabites, whom I mentioned above, rushed down from the mountain, exclaiming, "The books you gave us do not contain the name of Muhammed.

W. "You ought now, then, as the name is not in that holy book, to come to some decision."

Wahabites. "We have come to a decision;" and saying this they horsewhipped me tremendously, and rode off, saying, "This is our decision."

Joseph Ben Alnataf, a Jew, accompanied me hence to Mocha. Numbers of soldiers came down from the mountains to fight against the troops of Muhammed Ali. They demanded seventy dollars of me.

W. "I am an English subject."

Soldiers. "In Yemen we know not the name of an Englishman. In Yemen we know only *Allah uaala illa Allah, u Muhammad Rasool Allah*, (God, and nothing but God, and Muhammed the prophet of God). For infidels we have three things, tribute, death, and kalima (confession of faith)." I yielded, and gave my last penny.

I reached Mocha, by the mercy of God, towards the end of December, and set out again for Abyssinia, but caught a typhus fever at Hodeydah, where its kind governor and Monsieur Devaux for six weeks tended me most affectionately. Finding myself too weak to recross Abyssinia, I embarked in the *Hugh Lindsay* for Bombay.

I then recovered, and determined to set out thence to the United States of America. A Swedish vessel, the *Amalia*, received me. We stopped at St. Helena, where I lectured on the second coming of Christ. The kindness of Major-general Middlemore and all his family, and Colonel Trelawny, I shall ever gratefully remember. I arrived in New York in the month of August, 1837. Here I found myself surrounded with a phalanx of friends, of all religious denominations. I lectured in the Tabernacle on the personal reign of Christ, and the restoration of the Jews. I was here introduced to Bishop Doane, and arrangements were speedily made for my reception into the episcopal church. Doctors Henderson and Chapman examined me in ecclesiastical history, the Articles of the Church, Hebrew and Greek, as well as natural theology and philosophy. By this worthy bishop of New Jersey I was ordained deacon, and then preached at Philadelphia, Washington, and Baltimore, repeatedly. On the motion of John Quincy Adams, I received permission to give a lecture in the Congress Hall, in presence of all the members of Congress of both houses, the bishop of Virginia, and the clergy and citizens of Washington. I had the same honour conferred on me by the government of New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

It will naturally be asked what I think of that extraordinary question lately so much mooted in Europe and America, and so much connected with my own researches,—"Whether the Indians spring from the Ten Tribes of the Dispersion?" With respect to ancient tradition, the rule of Vincentius Lirinensis, though not infallible, is one of the best criteria: "What has always been believed, by all, and every where." This is not traceable in the Indians. They have not at all times and in all places, and all conjointly affirmed, "We are the Ten Lost Tribes of the Dispersion." On the contrary, they know nothing of any such tradition. I trace no remarkable affinities in their language to lead to such a conclusion; nor are the rites among them, quoted as analogous to the Jewish, sufficient to justify this conclusion. I am sure all nations will be found connected with the Jewish, as the great centre of spiritual worship. All rites will be found, in their uses and abuses, to maintain somewhat of the great principles inculcated in the Jewish law; but I am not prepared, from such grounds, the result of a common origin from the first parents, to affirm them all to be necessarily descendants from the lost tribes, because, in sooth, no other hypothesis suits the reigning taste.

People who have a preconceived favourite system, try to maintain it *ad outrance*, and think they see it realized when nothing of the kind in reality exists. Worthy people in America desired me to travel about with them, in order that I might convince the Indians of their extraction from the Jews; but this was putting the argument the wrong way. I wanted the Indians to convince me of their origin, and not to aid in deluding them into this notion, as I perceived many well-intentioned people did. I came among the Mohican tribes near New York, and asked them "Whose descendants are you?" They replied, "We are of Israel." I asked, "Who told you so?" and expected to learn much ancient tradition. To my great surprise they said, "Mr. and Mrs.

Simons, of Scotland." I asked, "What did your ancestors tell you about it?" "All our ancestors told us that we were born under the earth; and a woman among us looking out of the earth, was taken hold of by a spirit: that spirit led us up to the surface of the earth; and there we lived in peace until the white men came, by whom we were subdued."

Many of their customs, besides words in their language, and their physiognomy, rather seem to me to betray a Tatar race. Thus, for instance, they have the word *kelaun*, great, which is also used in the same sense at Bokhara. They have *nine* as a favourite number, which the Tatars also have. The Türkomauns also play on a flute in a melancholy strain around the tent of their beloved mistresses, and the Indians adopt a similar fashion.

The Jews in America are of very recent origin, principally composed of emigrants from Germany, Poland, and England. I regret to say they are mostly unbelievers in their own law, and marry without distinction among Quakers, Anabaptists, and other sects. There are honourable exceptions.

At New York I received a visit from Noah the Jew, so well known for his love to Israel. The emigration of Roman Catholics from the Austrian and German states was by thousands at this period, 1838. The Leopoldine Society of Austria sent out numerous missionaries to America, to obtain among its sectaries converts to the Roman Catholic faith. If Romanism were successful, it would scarce be worse than the mad folly of some of the sectarians of America, or the detestable perversions of Scripture of which they incessantly avail themselves. There are thousands of Shakers in America; and when they are asked, Why do they turn about in a circle? you get as an answer, "Does not the Scripture say, Turn ye, turn ye, why will ye die?" Ezekiel xxxiii. 11. The Roman Catholics, however, have found opponents in America

among the Episcopalian and Dutch communities, that have more than out-matched them in disputations, confuting Romanism on truly Catholic principles. Vituperation does the Romanists good, and raises their cause; but if the controversy be confined to the great question, On what does a church depend? they are scattered easily. A church founded on the authority of the Bible, and a church founded on her own authority alone,—the great distinctions between Romanists and Anglo-catholics,—need only clear exposition to show which has the advantage. It is true, Rome has an authority beyond what she claims; but as it is one which she rejects, she is not entitled to the benefit of it in controversy. This is the great question, the true authority of the church in Scripture. Collateral points may work into this, and become important to confirm it; but this properly defined, as I believe it to be in the Articles of the English church, duly and reverentially obeyed by its laity, rigorously followed out by a practical energy, strong in proportion to the strength it inhales from its nearness to the purest spring,—this will, I believe, yet produce, and certainly has even now in part produced, a state of Christendom unparalleled in earthly history.

I may say, without fear of any imputation of vanity, that I have now seen and made myself acquainted with all the branches of the Catholic Church, and with all the sects existing on earth; and I have not shunned to sit at the feet of the bishops in the Roman Catholic Church, in the Armenian Church, in the Greek Church, in the Chaldean and Abyssinian Church, with Wesleyans, Independents, and learned Baptists; and the result of my investigation is, that the Church of England is the pearl of price and jewel of the earth, and the mightiest master-piece of Bible illustration which the world has witnessed since it fell under the yoke of sin.

At Washington, I must not omit to mention the kindness I received also from its distinguished president, Mr. Martin Van Buren, that shrewd, clever, polished, and refined statesman. In his drawing-room I gave a short lecture before several members of the Congress.

I quitted New York on January 2nd, 1838, accompanied to the vessel in which I embarked by numerous friends, and arrived in England on January 28th. Instantly on my arrival in England, in the Isle of Wight, I gave an account of my missionary proceedings for eighteen years; also at Southampton and London. Being introduced to the Marquis of Anglesea, in whose house I dined and delivered a lecture, his lordship recommended me to the Marquis of Normanby, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and to Archbishop Whately. The University of Dublin conferred on me the degree of LL.D. From America I received the degree of D.D. from the Protestant Episcopal College of St. John's, Annapolis, Maryland. I then received priest's orders in Ireland, by the Lord Bishop of Dromore, in June 1838. Immediately afterwards I was made honorary chaplain to Lord Viscount Lorton, and after eighteen years' peregrination in the world, tired out, and enfeebled in constitution, I contemplated now seriously settling in England as one of the clergy of its national church, when the Rev. Hugh Stowell, of Manchester, was kind enough to procure me the situation of incumbent at Linthwaite, near Huddersfield, Yorkshire, where I had the princely income of twenty-four pounds per annum, collected by pew rents, and no augmentation from Queen Anne's Bounty. Previous to my arrival, the Pastoral Aid Society had given eighty pounds to my predecessor; but as I did not apply for it anterior to my accepting the living, and as they said Lady Georgiana had a sufficient income, they refused to give it to me.

Here I cannot but note, that the state of the British church, according to Parliamentary returns in 1835, viz. of

nearly five thousand livings, or about one-half of the total number of livings returned, viz. ten thousand four hundred and seventy-eight, being under two hundred pounds per annum, was a position of ecclesiastical matters that called loudly for the attention of the Premier; and I am pleased to see that Sir Robert Peel directed the powers of his vigorous intellect immediately to it. Disparity of incomes in any church, want of promotion of deserving men, create a faint-heartedness in its members that must prove deleterious to the church's great interests.

CHAPTER III.

Quits Linthwaite for the Curacy of High Hoyland. Hears of the Imprisonment of his friend Conolly at Bokhara. Writes to his Family, offering to proceed thither in 1842. Leaves High Hoyland. Receives from his Congregation a Testimonial of Respect. Puts a Letter in the *Morning Herald*, July 1843, stating his willingness to go to Bokhara—Captain Grover replies to it. Dr. Wolff goes with his Family to Bruges. Correspondence with Captain Grover. Arrives in England—Interview with Stoddart and Conolly Committee. Public Meeting convened—Address of Dr. Wolff—Speech of the Chairman, Sir J. Bryant, detailing former Intimacy between Dr. Wolff and Lieutenant Conolly. Embarks on the Mission October 14, 1843. Arrival at Gibraltar—Character of Bishop Tomlinson. Malta—Athens—Interview with the King and Queen of Greece. Dardanelles.

Besides the smallness of income at Linthwaite, from the exposed situation of the locality Lady Georgiana as well as myself were constantly attacked with quinsy. I therefore, after a stay of two years, took the curacy of High Hoyland, near Wakefield, in 1840, with a salary from the rector, who lived two hundred miles distant, a very worthy gentleman, the Rev. Christopher Bird; and these were assuredly the happiest of my days. I visited my poor people, and there existed a mutual attachment between us. But our expenses far exceeded our income; we became involved in debt from the necessity of the case; and therefore the Lord Bishop of Ripon, my worthy diocesan, wrote to the Bishop of London to procure me a foreign chaplaincy. His lordship of London promised to bear it in mind, and I left with regret my parishioners in 1843. I received a testimonial of the respect entertained to me by my congregation, conveyed by a piece of plate, and we were about to settle at Bruges; but previous to my departure from High Hoyland, I offered myself to go

to Bokhara to save Stoddart and Conolly. This offer was made in 1842. I also tendered my services to go to Cabūl, to save the prisoners there; but it did not appear at that moment necessary. I then went to reside at Richmond in Surrey.

In July 1843, I put into the *Morning Herald* the following letter:

PROPOSAL FOR THE LIBERATION OF COLONEL STODDART AND CAPTAIN CONOLLY.

To all the Officers of the British Army.

Gentlemen, 13, Richmond Green, Richmond, July 2.

Though a missionary and a clergyman myself, and not an officer, I do not take up my pen in order to excite your sympathy in behalf of a clergyman or missionary, but in behalf of two of your fellow-officers, Captain Conolly and Colonel Stoddart, who are at present captives in the great city of Bokhara; but having been myself two months at Bokhara; and knowing, as I do, the character of the inhabitants of Bokhara, I am fully convinced that the report of their having been put to death is exceedingly doubtful,—much more so by the source from which the report originated.

If, therefore, one of you, gentlemen, would be inclined to accompany me to Bokhara, or merely pay the expenses of my journey, I am ready to go there; and I am fully confident that I shall be able, with God's help, to liberate them from captivity, with the assistance of my Türkomaun friends in the desert of Khiva, and one of the derveeshes; but I would undertake the journey without making myself responsible to the British Government, and entirely on my own responsibility.

I merely want the expense of my journey, and not *one single farthing as a compensation;* even in case of complete success.

I shall be ten days more at Richmond, Surrey; if, therefore, one of you brave officers is now ready to accompany me, or to assist me in making the journey, let him come to me, and we may talk over the matter more fully.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your humble servant,

JOSEPH WOLFF,

Late Curate of High Hoyland, Yorkshire, formerly Missionary in Persia, Bokhara, and Affghanistaun.

The next day I had a letter from Captain Grover, who informed me that he would provide the requisite funds, and would call on me the following day at Richmond. Not wishing that Lady Georgiana should be made uneasy about my intended journey to Bokhara until all was finally settled, I determined, if possible, to anticipate Captain Grover's visit. In consequence, immediately after breakfast I walked up and down Richmond Green to intercept the captain, and to converse with him before he saw Lady Georgiana. I soon perceived a stranger looking anxiously about him, and on addressing him at a guess, found that he was Captain Grover himself. We shook hands most heartily, and he immediately told me that he had offered to proceed at his own expense to Bokhara, and had been refused the only security for his safety, he considered, viz. a letter from government, and the permission to wear his uniform. He wished me to proceed *viâ* Orenbourg, as he did not anticipate any cordial assistance from the British government, who had in his opinion most unaccountably abandoned the officers to their fate. He then told me that he would make a *national* matter of it, if he could not get it taken up, as he thought it ought to be, as a government question. He stated his intention to call a public meeting, and appoint a committee, which would enable him to communicate more easily with the government, and to enforce all necessary measures for my protection.

On communicating with Lady Georgiana, she felt reluctant to my encountering the matter, and we went to Bruges to await the issue of Captain Grover's efforts. The circumstances connected with these officers I found to be the following. Colonel Stoddart was on a *direct* mission from the government to Bokhara; Captain Conolly on a mission to Khokand and Khiva, from the Indian government: and he was further instructed to aid and assist Colonel Stoddart in Bokhara, and had strict injunctions that Colonel Stoddart, in his political capacity there, was empowered to claim his ser-

vices at any period. After this, various communications took place between myself and my friend Captain Grover, in which he detailed the progress that he had made to carry out his object, and he further published a small pamphlet, giving a few clear and succinct details of the then state of the Stoddart and Conolly question. This pamphlet of Captain Grover drew public attention to the matter; and then there appeared an account of the death of both these officers in the paper, on the authority of one Saleh Muhammed, who simply stated what he had heard, but not what he had seen. This statement had further the official guarantee of the signature of the chargé d'affaires at Teheraun, Colonel Sheil. This semi-official statement produced no effect; and on Captain Grover communicating with me, with a view to ascertain what I thought of that statement, I wrote to him the following letter, which is here inserted as illustrative of the feelings and motives which influenced me in undertaking this journey:

My dear Sir, Bruges, August 27, 1843.

I read the statements of Muhammed Saleh in the *Globe*, copied from the *Times*, two days before you were kind enough to send to me the *Times*, and I confess that I doubt more than ever the truth of the report of their having been put to death; for if such an event had taken place in the city of Bokhara, containing a population of 180,000 inhabitants, he would not have heard that story of their heads having been cut off by one of the executioners alone, but by the loud expressions of indignation of thousands of the inhabitants; but it seems from the report of Saleh Muhammed, that only one *of the executioners* made him acquainted with the history. I say there would have been *loud* expressions of indignation; for having been myself two months at Bokhara, I know that the person of a guest is considered as sacred, and the mullahs, who are all-powerful at Bokhara, would have deposed the Ameer. The mullahs of Bokhara themselves told me, that if the Ameer Almoomeneen (this is the title of the prince) suspects a person strongly, he either gets him poisoned secretly distant from Bokhara, or *strangled*, for they do not cut off heads with a knife. Beside these considerations, allow me to

give you the following account of my own journey to Bokhara in 1831.

When I arrived the second time at Teheraun, in July 1831, (for I was there the first time in 1825,) I called on my old friend Khosrow Khan, to whom I had been introduced in 1825 by Sir Henry Willock and Sir John Mc Neill. He (Khosrow Khan) sent immediately for a Persian merchant who was very well acquainted with the state of Bokhara, and had just arrived from thence; and the following dialogue took place between that merchant and myself in the presence of Khosrow Khan.

After Khosrow Khan, who was one of the ministers of Fut Allah Shah, had informed that merchant of my plan to go to Bokhara, he (the merchant) turned to me, and said,—

"Name tuwanee berawee," *i.e.* Thou canst not go.

W. "Tshera?" *i.e.* Why?

Merchant. "As soon as you arrive in Khorassaun, the Türkomauns, who are cursed Sunnées, and therefore invade Khorassaun (the inhabitants of which are good *Sheahs*,) in order to make slaves of the Khorassanee, will certainly make a slave of you; and if you should succeed to come as far as Sarakhs or Merve, the Türkomauns would put you to death the first moment you should arrive there. And even if you were to arrive at Karakol, there the governor, another Harram Zadeh (son of a ——) of a Sunnée, would receive you in the kindest manner, and then give secret orders to have you drowned in the *Ammoo* (Oxus), and the greatest misfortune for you would be to arrive safely at Bokhara; for Moorcroft, Guthrie, and Trebeck Sahib, after they had given thousands of rupees to Ameer Behadur, have been put to death openly at Bokhara by his express orders."

However I, undaunted, proceeded to Bokhara. It is true that I was made a slave in Khorassaun, but not by the "cursed *Sunnées*," *i.e.* the Türkomauns, but by the banditti of Muhammed Izhak, Khan of Torbad Hydarēa,—people of Khorassaun, and of the sect of Sheah, who made slaves of me and ten companions of mine, *all of them Sheahs*,—made slaves by their own co-religionists, with the design of selling us to the Türkomauns; but the very fact of my being an English subject was not only the cause of my own liberation, but of all the Sheah slaves of Torbad, where a regular slave-market existed, and where every year hundreds of Sheahs were sold by the above-mentioned Sheah Khan! The

Türkomaun chiefs who were at that time at Torbad, declared me to be their *mehmoon* (guest), for whom they would go thousands of miles to give their lives for me. They sent the Arabic Bibles I gave to them to their mullahs at Sarakhs and Khiva, declared me to be the forerunner of the Muhdee and Jesus, and desired my blessing.

After my arrival at Meshed, the capital of Khorassaun, the Sheah merchants, and the Sheah mullahs of Meshed, again assured me that Moorcroft, Guthrie, and Trebeck had been publicly put to death, and at Bokhara. On my arrival among the Türkomauns in the desert of Sarakhs, I lodged with the Jews, but the wild sons of the desert paid me every respect; even their mullah, who had got the Bible which I gave when at Torbad to the Türkomaun Sayd Neyaas, came and asked from me the *fatkha*, blessing! I fixed on their tents public proclamations, announcing to them the second coming of Christ in glory and majesty, called on them to repent of their evil doings, and especially exhorted them to give up the practice of making slaves of the Persians. I remained among them twenty-two days, and so far from their attempting to put me to death, I had every morning numbers of Türkomauns demanding my blessing, which I granted on condition of their giving up the occupation of *tshapow*, *i. e.* slave-making. I then set out with *one single Türkomaun* from Sarakhs to *Mowr*, and Bokhara; was not murdered in either of those places, though it was predicted by the merchant at Teheraun. The governor of Karakol gave me, according to the custom of the country, bread and salt to eat, and tea mixed with salt, and horse-flesh beside, and was far from disposed to give the order to drown me in the Ammoo, or Oxus. On my arrival at Bokhara, notwithstanding that a Jew there, Elias by name, who knew me at Bagdad, behaved very hostilely towards me, on account of his knowing that I came to convert them, and declared me openly before numbers of the inhabitants to be a Russian spy, I was treated with the greatest hospitality: and there I learned, to my astonishment, that neither Moorcroft, nor Guthrie, nor Trebeck, had been put to death at Bokhara. Moorcroft himself died at Ankhoy, not within the dominion of the king of Bokhara, and he died of fever. Guthrie and Trebeck died at Mazaur, governed by a khan who is a rebel against the king of Bokhara, whom the Goosh-Bekee (vizier) to the king of Bokhara told me that he strongly sus-

pected had poisoned Guthrie and Trebeck. Now mark! a few days after my arrival there, the mullahs of Bokhara went in a body to the Ameer, and said: "O your Highness! Joseph Wolff, the Englishman who has arrived here, has informed your vizier with frankness that the Persians had told him that we had put to death Moorcroft, Guthrie, and Trebeck. His report agrees with what we heard from others, that the rascally Sheahs have given to the city of Bokhara, which is Kawat Islaame Deen, (Energy of Islam,) the name of 'Murderer of Guests,' who are considered sacred by us. We must therefore treat Joseph Wolff, and every English traveller after him, with the highest regard and respect, and give him money if he wants it, in order that he may give a real statement of our dispositions towards guests, and our scrupulosity in the treatment of guests!" The Ameer replied: "By my head! Joseph Wolff must be treated well; and he will soon be convinced that the Guzl-Bash are liars!"—and well treated I was; and I am now in possession of the passport. I was well treated throughout the kingdom of Bokhara, and so was Lieutenant Burnes, afterwards Sir A. Burnes.

It is true that I was stripped again afterwards, but not in the kingdom of Bokhara, but fourteen days' distant from it,—at Doo-ab, near But-Bamian; not by the Sunnées, but by Sheahs, who are by far worse than Sunnées. It is true that the expedition to Affghanistaun may have caused a change of sentiments towards the English, but this would only lead to a detention and strict surveillance of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, not to a violent murder of them; and if it had led to such, why has it never been confirmed by the Chekarpoore merchants at Teheraun and the Jews of Meshed? for the merchants in the caravanserai of Chekarpoore at Bokhara have continual intercourse with the Chekarpoore merchants at Teheraun; and those Chekarpoore merchants of Bokhara, jealous as they are of English travellers, certainly would have noised it abroad, if such a deed had been perpetrated at Bokhara. I also forgot to add, that whilst I was well treated at Bokhara, letters arrived from the Jews of Meshed, stating that it had been currently reported at Meshed and Isfahan that I had been put to death by order of the Ameer.

Now, having given you my reasons for disbelieving Saleh Muhammed's account, I repeat again my willingness to proceed, if all can be arranged by the 1st of October. I get letters after

letters, making inquiries, as if they had to confer a *personal favour upon me;* whilst I wish to undertake the journey *not for my own pleasure*, but from a sense of *philanthropy*.

Such being my motives,

I remain, yours truly,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

I trust my readers will not deem me too sanguine in considering the account of Saleh Muhammed, alluded to in this letter, as false, since it afterwards turned out to be substantially so; or inconclusive in reasoning, in placing the story of the death of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly on a similar basis, with respect to veracity, to that before us as to the death of these English travellers, which also turned out to be totally unfounded. I received, shortly after this, fresh communications of the further progress of the mission on behalf of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, and replied in the following terms:

My dear Captain Grover, Bruges en Belgique, Sept. 4, 1843.

I am glad to learn that the project with regard to Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly seems to be on the fair way of being realized.

It would not be the first time that I have been enabled to be of service to others, even at the expense of my missionary proceedings. In the year 1836, I intended proceeding to Timboktoo from Abyssinia, but on my arrival at Adwa in Tigree, I found Mr. Gobat the missionary very ill, and unable to return to Europe with his wife and child; I therefore renounced my plan of going to Timboktoo, and brought Mr. Gobat and his family safely to Jiddah. I fell ill after this myself, which obliged me to change my plans altogether. The committee of the Church Missionary Society thanked me for that act.

In the year 1821, when in the Isle of Cyprus, I saved the lives of four priests, who were sentenced to be put to death; and three boys of the Greeks, whose fathers were put to death, were sent by me to England. In 1821 I established the Mission at Jerusalem, when all the friends at home thought it was impossible.

You may make use of these statements, in case that you think

they will be useful; but pass them over with silence in case that you deem it proper.

After I shall have been informed that five or six hundred pounds have been paid into the bank of Messieurs Drummond and Co., 49, Charing Cross, and a passport from Lord Aberdeen, to the following purport,—Rev. Joseph Wolff, English Clergyman, travelling in Central Asia,—shall have been given, accompanied with two letters, according to Lord Aberdeen's own promise, simply recommending me to the good offices of Sir S. Canning and Colonel Sheil, without involving Lord Aberdeen or the ambassadors in any responsibility, I shall proceed instantly from Bruges with Lady Georgiana to London, to see once more my son, who is educated at Rugby; but I shall only stay at London till the first October packet sails for Malta from Falmouth. Perhaps the Colonial Secretary would also give me a letter for the governor at Malta, and the Admiralty for the admiral in the Mediterranean. My missionary character has been a passport at Bokhara in 1832, and also in other most dangerous places; and I trust it will prove so again to me, and Stoddart and Conolly, with God's help, in 1843.

Pray, after all is settled, ask from the Jews' Society one dozen Hebrew Bibles and Liturgies for the Jews at Bokhara.

Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

I hope my readers will perceive my object in laying before them a large mass of the correspondence antecedent to my departure, since I trust it will produce this important result, viz. the clear indication that my course and plan were well and dispassionately weighed, and that no unseemly haste was exhibited in my own conduct, or apparent in the proceedings of any party. I continued to receive from Captain Grover renewed assurances of the confidence entertained in the result of my exertions, and I again wrote to him as follows relative to a public meeting which it was his intention to convene:

My dear Grover, Bruges, Sept. 6, 1843.

I beg you to state frankly and openly to the ladies and gentlemen of the meeting, that I am fully aware of the doubts entertained with regard to Colonel Stoddart's and Captain Conolly's

being still alive; but at the same time tell them also, that nothing has shaken my wish of ascertaining the fact with my own eyes; and should they be dead, (which I trust is not the case, and have reasons to doubt,) the people of Bokhara and their prince will be struck with amazement and consternation, on their observing that such interest is taken in England in the lives of their countrymen; and it may have a great *moral* and *religious* influence among them. When I set out in the year 1821 for the purpose of preaching the Gospel at Jerusalem, *all my friends*, among whom was that man of God, Mr. Simeon himself, thought it impossible; however, I went there and preached the Gospel, and, with God's help, was thus the first cause which induced the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews to send a permanent mission there; and my going to Bokhara the second time may thus lead to other results. Let us show to Muhammedans that Christians love each other so much, that they are ready to lay down their lives for each other! Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

Of the contents of this letter I am, on its re-perusal after this distance of time, still further convinced that the principle I then laid down, that my Mission would produce a good result to England, happen what might to myself personally, has been realized; and I feel fully satisfied that a moral dignity has been lent to England by this Mission among the oriental nations, that will last and produce far more beneficial results to her power than if it had been attended with every possible success. It has, at least, demonstrated that death does not intimidate an Englishman, and that he will demand from the very executioner and butcher of his countrymen the strictest account of such atrocities, either at the head of armies, or as the simple Christian with no other arms than the Word of Truth,—the Bible. I need only allude to the positive fact, subsequently developed in the further progress of this narrative, that with no other power on my part than that of a simple derveesh, the Ameer of Bokhara proffered to send an ambassador with me to give an account of his conduct to our government,

though fully assured by me that my mission was not political, and that he actually did send him. This ambassador also was to proceed first to the Sultan, to obtain his intercession with England,—but of this, more hereafter; and I need not appeal for further evidence than that, as to the utility of the noble mission of the Stoddart and Conolly committee.

My letter of the 6th was well received, when read to them, by the Stoddart and Conolly committee, which was formed September 7th, 1843; and that body of gentlemen manifested a most enthusiastic interest in my mission. Captain Grover was installed as its President, a most necessary measure, as it enabled him to put himself in communication with Government, and to demand all necessary aid. It further emboldened me in my design, as I had then to deal with a recognised organ of communication. Captain Grover had informed the committee that I was prepared to start when 500*l.* was raised for that object, but that he trusted 2000*l.* would be realized speedily. To this communication I replied, giving my plan of proceeding; and, in return, received a letter, dated September 15th, from Captain Grover, communicating the information that the route proposed was accepted by the committee, and informing me that he should take apartments for me in London near Portman-square. It also communicated the highly-valuable accession of the hero of Navarino, Sir E. Codrington, and the celebrated traveller Mr. J. Silk Buckingham, as members of the committee; as also the munificent contributions of Lords Beauvale and Melbourne to the fund.

About this period Lieutenant Eyre, so well known for his distinguished conduct at Cabūl, did me the honour to send me the following spirited and high-minded communication:

Rev. and dear Sir, Meerut, Sept. 11, 1843.

I have but just perused your letter of 2nd July last, in which you so nobly offer to proceed to Bokhara, for the purpose of procuring the release of those enterprising but unfortunate

officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Arthur Conolly; both of whom I had once the pleasure to know personally, and with the latter of whom I was on most friendly and intimate terms. Had it been my good fortune to be present in England when your letter appeared, I would not have hesitated for an instant to accept the invitation which you gave to any British officer to accompany you; and I feel assured we could have managed between us to raise sufficient money for the purpose. Even now, if I am not unhappily too late, I offer myself as your companion, and I have just despatched a letter to the secretary of the Cabul Relief Committee, urging that a sufficient sum may at once be placed at your disposal, to use in case of necessity; and I am not without hope that my suggestions may be attended to.

Though not enjoying the pleasure of your personal acquaintance, I am sufficiently acquainted with your character to feel confident that you are, of all men, the most likely to succeed in the object you at present have in view. I heard much of you when you were in India from our mutual friends D'Arcy Todd and poor Arthur Conolly himself. My own name may be not quite unknown to you, as one of those British officers who fell into the hands of Akbar Khan, on the retreat from Cabul, in January 1842, and who, after a captivity of more than eight months, experienced so wonderful and so unlooked-for a deliverance, when on the point of being carried into Toorkistan, with their wives and families. The remembrance of my own most providential liberation arms me with all the necessary confidence and resolution for joining in this effort on behalf of my less fortunate countrymen, who are still, perhaps, languishing in a miserable imprisonment at Bokhara. To be, in the most remote degree, instrumental in their deliverance, I should esteem the greatest happiness that could befall me; and if when this letter shall reach your hands, no more suitable companion should have offered himself, we might perhaps manage to meet each other at Bombay, or some other place, thence to proceed by whatever route shall seem to you most feasible.

I should not despair of reaching Bokhara in safety by the route of Cabul, because I know that both Dost Mahomed Khan and his son, Mahomed Akbar, are interested in the fate of Stoddart, with whom they were once shut up in the same prison at Bokhara, and formed a personal friendship in consequence. They would there-

fore be likely to afford every facility to such a journey as you contemplate; and they might even feel some gratification in seeing one, who had been so recently a prisoner in their hands, appearing with so much confidence amongst them again, and trusting to their feelings of humanity. The Khiva route, however, which you propose, seems the most free from risk, and easiest of accomplishment to one starting direct from England.

I will now tell you all I have been able to learn about our two captive countrymen.

The last *authentic* intelligence was contained in two letters from Arthur Conolly himself to his brother John, then a hostage at Cabul in the summer of 1842, in which he drew a melancholy picture of their situation in a prison at Bokhara. For four months they had no change of raiment; their dungeon was in a most filthy and unwholesome state, and teemed with vermin to a degree that rendered life a burden. Stoddart was reduced to a skeleton, and his body was covered with putrid sores. They had, with great difficulty, prevailed on one of their keepers to represent their wretched condition to the King, and were then awaiting his reply, having committed themselves to God, in the full assurance that unless soon released, death must shortly terminate their sufferings.

The King was always described to us by the Affghans as a mad and merciless tyrant, being subject to fits of insanity, during the continuance of which all around him trembled for their lives. This picture of him may be overcharged; but if true, it is almost destructive of hope.

You have, of course, heard the story derived, through Colonel Sheil, from a Persian who professed to have actually seen the graves in which Stoddart and Conolly had been buried. This story has, however, been contradicted by two highly respectable Jews, both of whom I know intimately, and whom I believe to be honest upright men. They have received letters from friends at Bokhara, mentioning both officers as still alive; and information has been received from other quarters, that the two graves were those of two servants who had offended the King. There was a popular belief, at the time of their execution, that they were British officers, and this may have been what misled Colonel Sheil's informant.

Sept. 18th. Since writing the foregoing, I have received a

reply to my application from the Cabul Relief Committee, who regret that they are debarred by the rules of the fund to place any money at your disposal, but expressing their readiness to assist your undertaking to the utmost of their power. I greatly lament that nothing can now be done by this mail, but I shall stir the matter in the papers. I have just learned that my troop is ordered to Agra, to form part of an army there to assemble. Should my public duty in this country interfere with the private wish I have here expressed, you will still believe I take the greatest interest in your proceedings, and shall rejoice with all my heart to hear of your success. God be with you, my dear sir, and believe me, Yours very faithfully,

VINCENT EYRE,
Lt. Horse Artillery.

The numerous useful suggestions contained in this letter, it is almost unnecessary to particularize: I was glad to find that the route I had proposed seemed the best to this experienced traveller. The sufferings of the British officers, as described in this letter, I need not say added fresh fuel to my earnest desire to reach them; and though the character of the Khan, which was fully realized in my own instance afterwards, was any thing but satisfactory to my feelings, I confess, yet had I on the instant possessed the magic carpet of Prince Houssein, I should have immediately used it to transport myself to Bokhara to inquire into their sad destiny, if possible to redress their fearful wrongs. No reply could of course be given to this letter, which arrived in England after I had started, and reached me at Constantinople.

Nor was this the only offer I received indicative of the deep sympathy entertained for the British envoys. Lieutenant-colonel Napier, on hearing of my offer, immediately volunteered to accompany me in the following letter:

Sir, Merchiston Hall, Horndean, Hants, August 17.

I see by the public papers that you are anxious to proceed to Bokhara, to inquire into the case of Colonel Stoddart, and would wish to be accompanied by a military man: I have been a good deal in the East, and if such an expedition could be managed

and authorized by the British government, it would give me great pleasure (under certain provisoes) to have the advantage of the company of so experienced a traveller as yourself. Believe me, reverend sir, to remain Yours truly,

E. NAPIER,
Lt.-Colonel, H. P. Unatt.

To resume the thread of my story: to the letter before alluded to from Captain Grover, I subjoin my reply.

My dear Captain Grover, Bruges, Sept. 18, 1843.

I beg you to tell the members of the Committee that I am highly flattered with the confidence they place in me. I think that Malta will be the shortest way; therefore try that I may be enabled to start with the first steam-packet in the month of October, and that all may be prepared for that time. I am very glad that Lord Melbourne and the hero of Navarino take an interest in this matter. I shall be able to consolidate the forty-one pounds, which are in Drummonds' hands from the separate committee. After the necessary five hundred pounds shall be collected, and the passports and letters from the Foreign-office procured for Sir Stratford Canning and Colonel Sheil, I shall be very happy to attend a meeting at London, and state more at large the importance of ascertaining the truth of the report of Muhammed Saleh, which has since, according to the newspapers, been contradicted by pilgrims from Bokhara, who passed Constantinople. It is very extraordinary that neither Sheil, nor any one from Teheraun, mentions that the report had been confirmed by caravans from Bokhara, nor by the Jews of Meshed; and the whole evidence depends on the too *circumstantial* account of Muhammed Saleh, as Miss Stoddart lately wrote to me.

I do not like to come to London with Lady Georgiana until all is settled, on account of the expense which I should incur at London; for having never had a living in England, and being only lately a curate in Yorkshire, with an income of sixty pounds per annum, which obliged me to leave the place in order to live in the cheap town of Bruges, I do not like to go away from here, where I have hired apartments, and incur expenses at London for other apartments, until I am on the very point of starting for Bokhara. I think that such a meeting would be highly useful.

If we find both Conolly and Stoddart dead, the Asiatic nation,

the Muhammedans, will have perceived by my inquiring after them that the Christians *love each other*, and are not indifferent at the fate of two of their *brethren;* and they will exclaim, as in the time of Tertullian the heathens exclaimed:—'*How these Christians love each other!*' And, further, this mission will make the people of Bokhara apprehensive of the consequences, and deter them from doing so again; and also, knowing as I do, that the powerful Khans of Khiva, Shahr Sabz, and Khokand, are (but especially that of Shahr Sabz) enemies of the King of Bokhara, I may ascertain how far these Khans will be prepared to take up the case, and unite with England in punishing the Khan of Bokhara, if he should have done such a thing. Many other beneficial results may accrue from this journey. But I repeat my most firm conviction, *that I do not believe one single word of the circumstantial account of Muhammed Saleh*, for there is no nation in the world like the Persian, who can tell lies in the most circumstantial manner.

1. I shall take with me a clergyman's gown and cassock, my hood, and a shovel hat.

2. One dozen or two of Hebrew Bibles and Testaments, and of the Common Prayer-book in Hebrew, for the Jews of Bokhara, Shahr Sabz, Khiva, Samarcand, Balkh, and Khokand. These you may get from the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews.

3. Two or three dozens of silver watches, for the Grand-mullah and mullahs of Bokhara, the Khans of Khiva, Shahr Sabz, and Khokand. The Ameer of Bokhara shall not get one single thing, in case he was the cause of their death.

4. Two or three dozens of maps in the Arabic characters, published by the Church Missionary Society.

5. Three dozens of *Robinson Crusoe*, translated into Arabic by Mr. Schlienz, at Malta. I distributed a great many copies of this book when at Sanaa and Loheya, in Arabia, and I assure you that it excited a great sensation. Robinson Crusoe's adventures and wisdom* were read by Muhammedans in the market-places of Sanaa, Hodeyda, and Loheya, and admired and believed! All these circumstances I would state in the meeting, and an interesting meeting we shall have.

* On reading the book which I gave them, the Arabs exclaimed, "Oh, that Robinson Crusoe must have been a great prophet!"

Lord Viscount Canning wrote to me, that whenever I should come to London, and wish to see him, he shall be most happy to receive me. I think that it will be well to make him and Lord Aberdeen acquainted with the contents of my letters, in order that they may see I have a well-matured plan, and do not intend to make use of the name of Government in my proceedings, and that, after all, I don't intend to rush into danger like a wild fanatic!

If I was in London, we could combine many things together, which cannot be done so well by letter; but, as I have said, I fear the expenses. My health is quite well, and so I am not afraid, on this score, not to be able to make this journey.

Yours very truly,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

P. S. You should send your pamphlet, and all the proceedings of the committee, to the Turkish, Russian, and Persian ambassadors at London; and also to Arteen Bey, Muhammed Ali's envoy, by which means the news will spread to Bokhara before I arrive there, and may effect the liberation of Stoddart and Conolly before I get there. Communicate it also to the French ambassador.

On this subject I need offer but few observations, except to note the trouble that I experienced from a solitary member of the Stoddart family; but I shall not further honour that individual, save by the simple statement, that if an individual had been selected from out the entire world who ought to have clasped in tears and gratitude the knees of my friend Captain Grover, one would have naturally expected him to have been that individual who most grossly insulted and abused Captain Grover at the public meeting at Exeter Hall, on my return to England! The British public exhibited on that occasion their sense of that ungrateful attack on the friend of Stoddart, by expressions of no doubtful character.

But I will not anticipate matters. The particulars detailed in this letter show, I trust, that I was not a man prepared madly and recklessly to risk my life; but prove, I conceive, that my plan for the mission was both comprehensive and as secure as circumstances would permit it to be.

After a further communication with Captain Grover on the convening of a public meeting,—in which I was desirous of laying before the public my former experience in the habits of these countries, and of detailing my journey to Bokhara in 1830, and of my curious reception in that interesting and ancient city,—I again, on the 26th of September, announced to him my intention of coming to England to prepare for the expedition, and also my plan of embarkation by the October packet of the 15th from Southampton to Malta, and that I purposed quitting Bruges on the 1st of October for that object. Before, however, I did so, I addressed to Captain Grover the following letter:

To Captain Grover.

Bruges, Hôtel du Commerce,
Sept. 28, 1843.

You will have received my letter of the 25th, as an answer of yours received *viâ* Antwerp, by which you will perceive that my proposed plan exactly agrees with the wish of the committee, stated in your letter of the 25th. I shall come over to England, *viâ* Ostend, on Monday, in the afternoon; for we shall sail from Ostend on the 1st of October, in the evening. I hope that the *Iberia* is a steamer, for I would not run any risk in a sailing vessel at this season of the year; and in case that it is a government packet, perhaps the Admiralty would grant to me a free passage in her. However this is only a query. With regard to the watches I mentioned, you must contrive that they are bought clear from the five hundred pounds, which must go entirely for my expenses to Bokhara, and back to London.

The reasons of my going to Bokhara are,—

1st. To perform a Christian act, by attempting the liberation of fellow-creatures,—of two gallant officers of my adopted country.

2nd. To liberate *a friend, an intimate friend of mine*, in the person of Conolly.

3rd. To be useful to England.

4th. To perform a promise given to the prime-minister of Bokhara, that I would remove the prejudice from the Europeans caused by the calumny of the Persians, that the people of Bokhara were *murderers of guests*.

5th. To show to Asiatics how highly an Englishman and a Christian values the life of his fellow-creature, by exposing myself to the fatigues and dangers of a journey from the Thames to the Oxus; and thus to inspire respect for the name of an Englishman in the minds of the Usbegs and their prince.

6th, and lastly. To be the instrument of drying the tears from the eyes of Conolly's family, and his friends.

I hope, my dear friends, that there will be no disappointment, for it would be distressing if I were to come to England, and then the plan to be given up. There is only one disappointment which I should be glad to learn; and that is, that accounts were to reach you that Stoddart and Conolly have arrived at Teheraun. This would be indeed an agreeable disappointment for me.

I beg you to express to the Committee my sense of heartfelt gratitude for the confidence they have placed in me. I beg you to make acceptable to Sir Edward Codrington, whom I had the honour to know when at Malta, my humble respects, and kind regards to the brothers of the justly-lamented Sir Alexander Burnes.

I am, yours truly,
JOSEPH WOLFF.

I arrived in England on October 1st, 1843. The day after my arrival in London I had an interview with the committee, when Captain Grover, according to his promise, gave me a cheque on his bankers for five hundred pounds. I explained to the committee my reasons for disbelieving the statement of Saleh Muhammed, to which the Government gave credit, and detailed at full the plan I purposed following during my journey and residence at Bokhara. I promised to go directly thither, and on no account to deviate from the direct route. It was agreed on between us, that as soon as I had ascertained that Stoddart and Conolly had been put to death, or that I should have conveyed them safe to Teheraun, that my engagement with the committee should cease, and that I should be at liberty to proceed wherever I might please. The committee were most anxious for my personal safety, and Captain Grover

did all in his power to impress upon my mind the great dangers and difficulties to which I was about to expose myself; and also as to the uncertainty of my being able to clear up the mystery, should I reach Bokhara. I gave the committee a short account of my previous journeys to Bokhara, of the kind manner I was treated by the Ameer, and of my acquaintance with many of the most important persons of that reputedly holy and learned city. My sacred character of Mullah would also command respect, I had no doubt; and the charitable object of my journey would, I trusted, insure me the kindness of all. My knowledge of Hebrew would enable me to communicate secretly with the Jews, and of Persian and Arabic with other parties. Captain Grover remarked, that every means would be employed to make me believe the officers were dead; to which I replied, that nothing but seeing their bones would satisfy me, and these I would bring to the committee. I expressed a wish that a public meeting should be convened, —1st, that the objects of the mission might be understood, and benefit me by preceding me wherever I went; 2nd, with a view to the reimbursement of Captain Grover, by the British public; and 3rd, that any of the relatives of the Stoddart or Conolly family, or others, might then have an opportunity of showing their sympathy with my mission, by aiding it by all the means in their power.

A meeting was immediately convened at the Hanover-square Rooms, Major-general Sir Jeremiah Bryant, C.B., in the chair. My friend Captain Grover detailed the singular circumstances under which we became acquainted; and certainly our juxta-position as a British officer and a Protestant divine, both devoutly and sincerely occupied on one common purpose of philanthropy,—to which he eloquently alluded,—was alone one of remarkable singularity. I pointed out to that meeting, that on my first expedition to Bokhara, in 1832, a report prevailed that the travellers

Moorcroft and Trebeck had been barbarously murdered by the Khan of Bokhara, which proved wholly unfounded. I indicated also my reception by the Goosh-Bekee, or 'king's ear,' to whom I had notified my purpose to visit Bokhara and Balkh, to converse with my people the Jews about Jesus, and, if possible, to trace the Tribes of the Dispersion. Eighteen years had been consumed by me in missionary labour. That I considered Bokhara and Samarcand to be one of their positions, if extant, in common with a celebrated rabbi at Jerusalem, and that I was supported in that view by the remarkable passage in 1 Chron. v. 26. I showed that I was plundered, beaten, and enslaved by the Tūrkomauns, but that such was the respect entertained for derveeshes, that my liberty was restored to me. I pointed out the feelings under which I entered the gates of Bokhara, the Kawate Islaam-ud-Deen, the strength of Islamism, the city of Afrasiab, the supposed Habor of Scripture, the rival and supplantress of Samarcand, the place of residency of Behadur Khan, the treasures of which are so celebrated that they are mentioned in the poems of Hafiz,—the asylum of the Nogay, the Jew, the Girgese, once the Hindoo Bokhara, so harshly treated by Ghengis Khan, and then again by Tamerlane. I entered it with my Bible in my hand, on a horse sent me by the 'king's ear.' I stated what I knew of the Jews,—of their ignorance of their religion; that the mullahs were quite indignant at the reported death of Moorcroft and Trebeck; my utter disbelief of Saleh Muhammed's statement, and my full confidence that I should return in peace.

The chairman, Sir Jeremiah Bryant, particularized many points connected with Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. He entered on the merits of the Conolly family most feelingly. One brother, he stated, had died a prisoner among the Affghauns; another had been shot through the heart while aide-de-camp to General Sir R. Sale; the third (Arthur) was the object of their present solicitude. The Journal

of Captain Conolly was before the public. He had himself seen Wolff and Conolly together in 1832 at Cawnpore, in a controversy which Dr. Wolff was conducting with the Muhammedan doctors. He further stated, in conclusion, his conviction that I was eminently fitted for the mission, from my former experience, general acquaintance with Asiatic countries, and strong personal attachment to Captain Conolly. The thanks of the meeting were unanimously voted—all standing—to my friend Captain Grover, for his chivalric and high-spirited devotion to the cause; and Captain Grover, in returning thanks, said that the offer of entering on the mission, made by himself personally, was only an echo of the general sentiments of the British army, numerous officers having volunteered to undertake the mission—many to accompany Dr. Wolff, among whom he could name Colonel E. Napier, provided they were permitted to go as British officers. Of the position which the Government assumed in this matter relative to myself, the following letter in reply to a communication from Captain Grover by Mr. Addington will be sufficiently evidential:

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter respecting a proposal made by Dr. Wolff to proceed to Bokhara, with the view of ascertaining, by personal observation, the real facts as regarding Lieutenant-colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. I am to state to you, in reply, that Lord Aberdeen much regrets that he is unable to share with you the doubts which you express of the correctness of the account sent home by Her Majesty's chargé d'affaires at Tehran. The narrative of Mahomed Sauleh is so clear and consistent throughout, while the truth of portions of it is corroborated by other evidence, that Lord Aberdeen would not consider himself justified in encouraging any person to undertake an expedition to Bokhara with the view of ascertaining a fact of which Lord Aberdeen sees no reason to entertain any doubt, and which expedition might be attended with the same melancholy results to the person sent, as those which Lord Aberdeen, in common with the families of the deceased

officers, so deeply deplores. Moreover, the instructions which his lordship addressed to Lieutenant-colonel Sheil a few days after the receipt of the intelligence of the death of the officers; and those which, in compliance with your request, he addressed to the same gentleman on the 4th of April and the 29th of May, sending to him on the latter occasion a statement of the report received from India; and in addition to these instructions, one to the same effect addressed to him by direction of the Governor-general of India on the 25th of March, will cause him to institute any further inquiries which he may have the opportunity of setting on foot, in order to relieve the anxieties felt by the families of the deceased. If, however, Mr. Wolff should still proceed on his proposed expedition, Lord Aberdeen will, of course, recommend him to the good offices of Lieutenant-colonel Sheil; but his lordship would not feel himself justified in assuming, on the part of Her Majesty's government, any responsibility connected with that undertaking.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) H. U. Addington.

I expedited matters with all possible dispatch, and arrived at Southampton for embarkation on the 14th of October. While there, the celebrated authoress of the *Undying One*, the Honourable Mrs. Norton, came forward to shake hands with me, and to wish me heartily well on my journey. I was much gratified by this lady's attention, and I trust to win many regards to the way of truth by those singular circumstances in which it has pleased the Almighty to dispose of my lot. I was also visited by a young gentleman of high birth and noble family on board ship,—the Honourable Frederic Walpole, as fine a fellow as ever breathed,—who expressed his wish to accompany me, if circumstances had permitted him. I thank God that he did not, for I never should wish to see any young man enter Bokhara. If it were possible, in the present state of the world, to conceive scenes that would justify to the full the awful injunctions in Leviticus against the Canaanitish nations, they are certainly enacted in that atrocious city.

We set sail in the *Iberia* for Gibraltar on October 14, 1844. My fellow-passengers were twenty-three in number, and among them I made the acquaintance of Lady Augusta Paget, and her daughter. The first day her ladyship conversed largely with me; on the second, the ominous evils of a sea-voyage began to indicate themselves, and her ladyship took to her berth. Doctor Gilchrist, the superintendent of the medical board at Gibraltar, also an old acquaintance, was on board: the chief engineer of the Sultan, Mr. Haigh, and his lady; they were both of the Wesleyan persuasion, and were from Penzance, in Cornwall, and emphatically assured me that I should meet some other *good people* on board. I must not omit, also, to mention, among my other companions, Mr. and Mrs. Richardson. This gentleman, a most good-natured personage, was proceeding to Constantinople to superintend the building of the British palace.

My previous habits made me support the voyage better than my fellow-travellers. I walked about on deck without a hat, and every morning had sea-water poured over me. I slept on the sofa in the dining-room, rarely in my berth. We made nine miles an hour, and arrived off Ushant on the 15th. I wrote to my dear wife and son at this period, to beg them to pray for me, and that, by the Lord's will, I trusted we should again be soon united, and live happily together *in God;* and if the world and the church did not reward me, and both had neglected much worthier beings, still to keep their minds fixed on Christ,—*that* Christ, who after all he had done in nineteen centuries was still expected, since as yet the heathen are not given to him for his inheritance, *nor the utmost parts of the earth for his possession.*

We were off Ushant on the 15th, as I observed; and on Sunday, the 16th, my poor fellow-passengers were too ill to admit of my performing divine service, and matters were not mended when we slipped into the Bay of Biscay. On

Monday, the 17th, I gave a lecture to the ship's company, and at 6 P.M. we passed Cape Finisterre. On Tuesday, the 18th, I lectured again. We had then Cape St. Vincent in sight. On the 19th, when off Cadiz, I continued my lecture.

On the 20th, early in the morning, we entered Gibraltar. I immediately went on shore, breakfasted with Dr. Gilchrist, and then called on my old friend Dr. Burrow, archdeacon of Gibraltar. As soon as I had sent in my name, the worthy archdeacon came out and led me into his drawing-room, where I was introduced to his two daughters, and to the Rev. Mr. Buchanan, chaplain to the forces; and I met also a Mr. Levy, missionary to the Jews of Gibraltar. The venerable archdeacon expressed a deep interest in my present enterprise, and immediately introduced me to his Excellency the governor, Sir Robert Wilson. The chivalrous conduct of Sir Robert Wilson in delivering Lavalette from imprisonment and death, and the interest I always felt in Madame Lavalette, that sweet affectionate woman, rendered my interview with him most pleasing. I could have wished that circumstances had permitted Sir Robert to have accompanied me to Bokhara. Were the whole lives of some men recounted, how far more wonderful would they appear than any romance. The governor and his daughter received me in a most cordial manner, and expressed their deep sympathy in my present mission. I was also introduced to Major Wilbraham, the secretary, who had been in Persia, and knew Colonel Stoddart. Major Wilbraham was inclined to believe the report of Saleh Muhammed: however, he admitted that it would be well to come to a certainty.

The Bishop of Gibraltar had left that fortress a few weeks previous, and returned to Malta. The Church of England could not have sent a better man to the Mediterranean than Dr. Tomlinson: he combines in his person every requisite for a bishop in the Levant. Dr. Tomlinson does not sit down in one place, and make mere excursions of amusement: he is

quickly observed at Athens, consecrating a church there, again at Constantinople, after that at Oporto, and soon at Gibraltar. An English bishop in the Levant ought to be acquainted thoroughly with the literature of his own country, and be master of the French and Italian, and also know something at least of the Arabic literature; now Dr. Tomlinson is master of all these languages, with which qualities he unites the most essential of all qualities, *i. e.* PIETY.

It was very fortunate that the Lord Bishop of London had, previous to his proposing to send a bishop to the Mediterranean, held a conversation with the Rev. C. Schlienz, missionary to the Church Missionary Society, who, being well acquainted with the oriental languages, and also the customs and manners of the East, was able to suggest measures, in accordance with which the bishops in England seem to have acted in sending out that excellent prelate, Dr. Tomlinson, to Malta. It would be highly advisable to send Dr. Tomlinson to Chaldea, in order to investigate the present state of the Nestorians, and to afford them relief; or, should Dr. Tomlinson not have time, it would be well to send there the Rev. George Williams, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, who has not only travelled in Palestine, but has taken trouble to learn the language.

We left Gibraltar on the evening of the same day as our arrival; the excellent Archdeacon Burrow wished me to stay with him one or two months. He said that nobody agreed better with him than myself in all his opinions. On the 21st of October I continued my lectures to the passengers; Sunday, the 22nd, I read divine service and preached; Monday, the 23rd, I lectured again. Tuesday, the 24th, we were off Tunis; Wednesday, the 25th, we sailed with contrary wind, and passed, early in the morning, the island of Zemra. We had before us the island called Pantaleria, thickly inhabited, —the Botany Bay of Naples. I had a conversation with several travellers *on the necessity of faith and obedience,*

and on the *personal reign of Christ*, and *the restoration of the Jews.*

At ten in the morning of the 26th October we reached Malta. On our entry into the harbour, a servant of Mr. Hunter came on board to fetch the lad Abbot, from Smyrna, who was passenger on board the *Iberia*, from London, on his way to Smyrna; but as his father, a merchant at Smyrna, was performing quarantine at Malta, Mr. Hunter was commissioned to take care of the boy. I therefore wanted to go with Hunter's servant, first of all, to Mr. Hunter, as I had a letter for that gentleman from the house of Baring; but the boats were in such crowds near the *Iberia*, that one of the active boatmen took hold of one of my feet, and dragged me into a boat different from that in which Abbot was rowing off. Scarcely had I arrived on shore, when numbers of Maltese exclaimed, "*Come sta, Signore? come sta, la Signora Georgiana?*" It was quite touching.

I then hastened to the governor. The first person I met was the old servant of Sir Frederic Ponsonby: he delivered my card to Captain Tidy, aide-de-camp to the governor. Captain Tidy exclaimed, "Oh, Doctor Wolff, your arrival was expected; I was at the taking of—(I forget the name of the place)—together with Captain Conolly." General Stuart and Lady Stuart shook hands most cordially with me, and invited me to dine with them at seven o'clock in the evening; and as the captain of the *Iberia* determined to stay till midnight, I was able to accept the invitation, which I at first believed was impossible. His Excellency promised me every assistance in his power. On my going out again from the general's room, the servant asked me whether I had seen Lady Emily Ponsonby? I told him all I knew about her ladyship, and that her ladyship's countenance always brightened up when I mentioned the name of Malta to her in England.

The general then sent an orderly with me to the admiral, Sir Edward Owen, a venerable old gentleman. His aide-de-

camp, Commander Bedford, knew me in former times, and was very glad to see me; and on announcing me to the good admiral, he immediately asked me to breakfast with him. He had already received a letter about me from the Admiralty, *viâ* Marseilles, and regretted that he had not detained the *Orestes*, which sailed two days before my arrival for Constantinople; but he told me that I would arrive sooner in the *Iberia*, than by the *Orestes*, as the latter was obliged to stop several days at Corfu. He gave me letters for Admiral Walker (Yavar Pasha), at Constantinople; for the captain of the *Devastation*, at Constantinople; for Captain Stirling, of the *Indus*, and Sir Edward Lyons, at Athens. He then placed his carriage at my disposal.

I then went first of all to Dr. Tomlinson: the person who opened the door was Carlo, the servant of Mr. Schlienz, now servant to the bishop of Gibraltar. His lordship received me with great kindness, and his sister told me that she knew Lady Georgiana and Lady Maria West, and inquired very kindly after both. His lordship then entered most frankly with me into the state of missions. His lordship gave me letters for the English clergy at Athens; for Doctors Bennett and Southgate, at Constantinople; and a commendatory letter from his lordship to all the bishops and priests in the East. I here append it:

Reverend and dear Sir, Malta, October 26, 1843.

I am glad to hear that you are about to proceed immediately to ascertain the fate of poor Colonel Stoddart and his fellow-sufferer in Bokhara. I hope that you may be prospered on your way, and that, with the blessing of God, you will succeed in your object. It is melancholy to think of such men being left without assistance, if they are still alive; but at all events, your journey must be productive of good. You will hardly need any introduction in the countries to which you are going; but you are quite at liberty to show this letter, wherever it may be of service to you. I beg you will commend me to any of the oriental bishops and clergy of my acquaintance whom you may meet with in your

journeys. Praying that you may be preserved by the goodness and mercy of God from all the dangers of the way,

I remain, dear sir,

Your faithful servant in Christ,

G. GIBRALTAR.

His lordship told me that Mr. Frere was very anxious to see me; I therefore went out to him in the Pietá. He was there with his old servants Beppo and another, who were rejoiced to see me. I was shown, as usually in former times, to his drawing-room; his table was covered with books, and memorials from poor Maltese. After a while, my dear old friend entered the room weeping for joy, inquired after my wife and my son Henry most kindly, and talked over our former intimacy. His speech was somewhat feeble, and he told me that he had had at Rome an attack of an apoplectic stroke, but his memory is exceedingly good. I stopped with him about an hour, and he was sorry to learn from me that I was sailing off the same day, as he wanted to invite a party to meet me, among others the governor, the admiral, and Miss Hamilton. Before I left him, he kindly gave me an order for twenty-one pounds on Bell & Co., and a strong letter of introduction to Sir Stratford and Lady Canning. I then took my leave of the good old man, and went in the carriage to Miss Hamilton.

After some pleasant chat with this delightful old acquaintance (who, alas! has died since these words were written), I next called on Mr. Christian, who wished me to accompany him to his country-house, but I had no time for it. He inquired after all my friends, and after Lady Emily Ponsonby. I then left him; and on leaving his house, I met Paolo, my old cook, out of service. I next went to visit Mr. Weiss, who was quite overjoyed to see me: he is no longer connected with the Church Missionary Society.

On my returning to the palace of the governor, I met with Archdeacon Le Mesurier, who expressed great joy in seeing me. He looks as well as ever, and is as stout and active as

ever. There must be something in the climate of Malta which makes people younger rather than older.

At seven o'clock I came to the governor, when he introduced me to Lady Stuart and to his daughters; and I met at table my old friend Sir Hector Greig. I also met with Colonel Edward, Captain Tidy, and some ladies. Sir Hector wished me to come back to Malta, and offered me a bed in his house, but I could not accept it. I returned to the *Iberia* at eleven o'clock at night; and as the *Vernon* was lying opposite, which was commanded by Captain William Walpole, I went on board of her, but Captain Walpole was on shore. I left a few lines with him for friends at home.

We left Malta that night, the 26th, and experienced on the 27th hot but excellent weather: our rate nine knots per hour on to Athens. We reached the harbour of the Piræus on the 29th of October, at three in the afternoon. On my arrival I went on board the *Indus*, which was then in the Piræus, where I saw Sir James Stirling, the commodore of the British navy in the Archipelago, and accepted his polite invitation to breakfast. I then proceeded to Athens to see Sir E. Lyons, and not finding him at home, called on the English chaplain at Athens, the Rev. H. D. Leeves. In company with this gentleman—who received me with the greatest cordiality—and his daughters, I proceeded to the Acropolis; and on the Areopagus, where St. Paul preached, I read Acts xvii., "Ye men of Athens," &c.

During my stay with Mr. Leeves I saw Jonas King, my old fellow-traveller, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin, American missionaries, and Constantinos, one of the Greeks whom I had sent to England in the year 1822, from Cyprus, and who has now a flourishing school at Athens. The father of Constantinos was beheaded in 1822, during the revolution, and I had saved him and three other boys from slavery, and despatched them to England: one of them, Paolo Pierides, is now a physician in Scotland, and his brother a schoolmaster at Larnica.

On my return home from the house of my old friend, the Rev. Mr. Leeves, I found a note from Sir E. Lyons, inviting me to breakfast with him on the following morning at eight o'clock. I did so, and as Sir E. Lyons expressed a desire that I should be introduced to King Otho and her Majesty the Queen, and as I was glad of the opportunity, it was arranged. Mr. Leeves, pursuant to Sir E. Lyons' request, introduced me to Dr. Rueser, a Bavarian, who immediately conducted me to the Rev. Father Arnott, the king's confessor. It is contrary to etiquette for the ambassador to introduce under two days' notice, which my stay did not permit me to give. Father Arnott, on my introduction to him, told me that he had seen letters of mine written to Dumreicher at Alexandria. They expressed great joy that they had made my personal acquaintance. They introduced me to a lady in waiting to her Majesty, who was born two miles distant from Weilersbach, my native place: we conversed a great deal together, and laughed much about several subjects. They gave notice, first of all, to Count Mavromichale, the chamberlain: he announced me to his Majesty, who immediately ordered him to bring me to his room. His Majesty is a tall, meagre-looking gentleman, dressed in Greek costume. I made a profound bow, and his Majesty immediately said,—"You have made, and are now making, a great journey for a benevolent purpose."

W. I had the high honour of being introduced to your Majesty's royal father at Rome.

King Otho. In what year?

W. In the year 1818, when he was accompanied by Dr. Ringseis and Counts Seinsheim and Rechberg.

K. What nations have you visited and conversed with?

W. Jews, Muhammedans, Chaldeans, Yeseede, Syrians, Sabeans, Persians, &c.

K. In what state are the Chaldean and Armenian churches,

what are their tenets, and does the Armenian church recognise a head of its religion like the Pope of Rome?

W. The Patriarch of Ech-Miazin, at the foot of Mount Ararat, has the title of *Katokhikos*, *i. e.* Catholicus, and he alone has the power of consecrating bishops, and sending them over all the countries where Armenians are to be found.

K. Whose descendants are the Armenians?

W. According to Armenian historians, they are descendants of Hayk the brother of Belus, one of the builders of the tower of Babylon.

K. Have the Armenians a literature?

W. Yes; in the fifth century the great Mesrob translated the Bible into the Armenian tongue: Moses Vocazer, Chorinazi, the historian, and Isaac, are celebrated writers among the Armenians. In the eleventh century they had the great patriarch Nerses Shnor-Haale, and Archbishop Nerses Lampronazi. At present they have very clever men at St. Lazarus in Venice,—as an instance I may mention Father Pasquale Aucher; and at Calcutta, Hoannes Avdal.

After having given his Majesty the detail of their tenets, he asked me the reasons which induced me to believe that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were alive. I gave him my reasons, and told him that I had hoped to find also Lieutenant Steer and Dr. Balfour, who were made prisoners in the war of Affghanistaun. His Majesty asked me where I had left Lady Georgiana and my family, and how many children I had? I satisfied his Majesty also on this subject. The conversation lasted a whole hour.

I was then introduced to Madame Blosco, née Comtesse de Witzleben, a niece of Friedrich Leopold, Count of Stolberg,*

* This charming writer is too little known in England. I extract from his last work on "*Love*," the following passage. It breathes forth the true spirit of experimental Christianity:—

"By sufferings we begin *to pay attention to ourselves*. Tribulation makes us weary of the world; in tribulation do we seek help and consolation from

with whom I talked about her uncle; she announced me to her Majesty, who immediately ordered me to appear before her. She is really a most beautiful and lovely queen—the very *beau ideal* of a queen. When I approached her for the purpose of kissing her lovely hands, she hastened to put off one of her gloves, and I then kissed it.

Queen. What travels you have undertaken! What astonishing travels!

W. In order to obtain a great object, one must make great exertions.

Q. Have you found the Jews very much opposed?

W. Sometimes; but they generally treated me with great politeness.

Q. Have you often been attacked on the road?

W. I was a slave.

Q. You must have a great deal of courage.

W. I am mostly afraid of the sea; for there is a proverb among the Jews in Germany, that the water has no beams.

Her Majesty laughed, and I observed, "Your Majesty thinks now that I, after all, betray my descent from the Jews by that observation, for the Jews do not like the sea."

God. The more one is guided by God in that school of love, the greater progress one makes in the way of salvation; so that holy souls not only suffer with resignation in God, but even rejoice in tribulation also. For in it they begin to submit themselves to God with a perfect heart,—to prove to him their love, which increases by gratitude for his kindness who purifies them like gold in the fire, in order that they may become men well pleasing to him, in the furnace of suffering by the fire of love. They increase in resemblance to that Saviour, who entered not into glory until he had suffered on the cross. Children of God have not only sufferings in common with other men, but they experience also *in the soul sufferings* of which others are ignorant,—*the sufferings of love.* Penetrated by a feeling of love to God, they feel bitter pain and grief that he is *known* to so few, *loved* by so few; that even now Christ crucified is a stumbling-block and foolishness to baptized infidels, as he was formerly to Jews and Gentiles,—that the enemies of the Gospel sneeringly triumph, and the believers feel as a killing in their bones while they daily say unto them, Where is your God? Psalm xlii. 10. Penetrated by a feeling that God loves them, the believers feel bitter sorrow that their love to God in return is so cold," &c.

Q. Have many of the Armenians and Chaldeans joined the Church of Rome?

W. About 60,000 Armenians and 3,000 Chaldeans have joined the Church of Rome.

Q. What religion have the Armenians?

W. They are Monophysites,* but are a most interesting and inquiring people.

Q. What kind of people are the Chaldeans?

W. They live at Mosul, Diarbekir, Ooroomia, Salmast, and in the mountains of Kurdistaun. They are beyond doubt descendants of the Jews converted to Christianity, for they call themselves the "children of Israel." They have their patriarch, Mar Shemaan by name, who pretends to be a lineal descendant of St. Peter. Some thousands of them have been converted to the Church of Rome, especially those residing at Mosul, and in the village called Alkush, the birth-place of Nahum the prophet, and also the place where he was buried.

Q. Are there more Roman Catholic or Protestant missionaries?

W. Roman Catholic.

Q. Who have made most converts?

W. The Roman Catholics; but the Protestants have of late had very considerable success in India.

Q. What an enthusiastic and sincere man you are: I admire your zeal. Do you not fear now going to Bokhara?

W. I am carried on by the object.

Q. It would be well if all the Churches were united together.

W. This is much to be prayed for; but this union will only be realized at the second coming of our Lord.

Q. Do you expect that this will soon happen?

* A sect that believes that the human nature of our Lord has been absorbed into the divine, and so both natures are one nature; contrary to the beautiful distinction in the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and the close declaration of the second Article of our church, "That two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and the Manhood, were joined together in one person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God and very man."

W. Yes, I do; but I intend that if I should preach the Gospel again in Russia, not to act under the Lutheran consistory, but under the Russian synod, and have my converts baptized in the Russian church.

Q. This is well meant, but I doubt whether the Russian synod would agree to it.

W. I think that they would, for this was the contention with the Scotch missionaries at Astrachan; for they were not allowed to carry on their mission, as they refused to submit to having their converts baptized by the Russians.

Q. Have you had much success in your mission?

W. I was the first who went to Jerusalem to preach the Gospel there to the Jews, at a time when the war was raging between Greece and Turkey, and my mission there excited the attention of the public in England to the importance of a mission at Jerusalem. The Jews at Jerusalem began first to inquire after my arrival into the merits of the Christian religion, induced by my conversations with them. Through my mission at Jerusalem, the Jews at Jerusalem, Sichem, Aleppo, and Bagdad directed their attention to the subject of Christianity. I also was the first who made the Jews, resident in Persia, Khorassaun, the whole country of Bokhara, Affghanistaun, the deserts of Türkistaun, Khokand, and Chinese Tartary, acquainted with the New Testament, and thus many Jews at Constantinople were converted through my instrumentality; and I baptized Jews in Egypt, Java, Sanaa, Yemen, and Bokhara. I was the first who brought the subject of the Jews before the universities of Oxford, Leyden, and Utrecht, and before the Congress of the United States of America.

The conversation turned to different other subjects, and then her Majesty most graciously took leave, and I bowed and went away. The conversation lasted one hour. Madame Blosco then told me that her Majesty was particularly delighted with my interview with her.

I next went with Mr. Leeves and Mr. King to see the President of the Greek senate, Bishop Neophytos, for the Synod is composed of five bishops. I am sorry to learn that the Greek Church in Greece is no longer under the Patriarch of Constantinople. After my visits were over, I dined with Mr. Leeves, and then said 'Good by.' Mr. Leeves and Mr. King accompanied me on my way to the *Iberia*, but it was too late, for the *Iberia* had already sailed for Syra; I therefore went on board her Majesty's ship *Indus*, and Messrs. Leeves and King proceeded immediately to Sir E. Lyons', where Sir James Stirling, the captain of the *Indus*, was at dinner, and Lieutenant Leicester of the *Indus* also went on shore to report my missing the *Iberia* to Sir James. Sir James Stirling returned forthwith to the *Indus*, and ordered Captain Ommaney, of the steamer *Vesuvius*, to prepare immediately for taking me as far as Syra, where the *Iberia* was to stay twelve hours; and at eleven o'clock of the 31st, we overtook, most fortunately, the *Iberia*, when I was hailed with cheers by the whole ship's crew and passengers, and then at four o'clock we sailed for Smyrna, where we arrived on the 1st of November. We only stopped two hours, during which time I saw Temple, the American missionary, and Mr. Calhoun, the agent of the American Bible Society: Lewis and Meredith were in the country. On the 2nd of November I arrived in the Dardanelles. I confess that I was rather disappointed with the fortifications, and I really believe that Gibraltar would be far more difficult to be taken than the Dardanelles. Military men would quote to me, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam,"—"Don't travel beyond Bokhara." I freely confess I should find some little difficulty in taking either.

CHAPTER IV.

Constantinople—Interview with Sir Stratford Canning. Doubtful reports at Constantinople about Stoddart and Conolly. Interview with the Chargé d'Affaires of Naples relative to Signor P. Naselli, who had visited Bokhara. Nature of Evidence as to the existence of Stoddart and Conolly procured at Constantinople. Official papers from the Sultan, the Sheikh Islam, and others. Visits to Count Stürmer. Attempts made by certain parties to deter Dr. Wolff from proceeding to Bokhara. Letter of Mr. James Calvert. Interview with the Reis Effendi and the Sheikh Islam. Syrian Church—Ephrem Syrus. Kindness of Sir [Stratford Canning—His Excellency pays all Dr. Wolff's Expenses to Trebizond. High opinion entertained by all Parties of Captain Grover. Embarkation for Trebizond.

On the 3rd of November I arrived in the harbour of Constantinople. I immediately reported my arrival to the Rev. Horatio Southgate, the American episcopal missionary, for whom I had a letter from the Bishop of Gibraltar. I was received very cordially by him and his wife: they have two very nice children, and Mrs. Southgate is a very charming lady. I immediately sat down and wrote to Sir Stratford Canning, who lives now at Buyukdere, 'great valley,' a large village on the Bosphorus, twelve miles from Constantinople, and announced to his Excellency my arrival at Constantinople. I received the next day from him an answer, which I subjoin *verbatim*, to show the extreme kindness of our distinguished ambassador:

Dear Sir, Buyukdere, Nov. 3, 1843.

I am happy to hear of your arrival, and hope to have the pleasure of seeing you here whenever it may suit your convenience to come. Will you dine here on Sunday, or Saturday?

We dine at half-past six. I cannot offer you a bed in the house, but there is a respectable inn at no great distance; or if you prefer returning to Pera at night, there is at present a splendid moon.

With respect to your letters, I had applied for them before your arrival, and I think you had better see Mr. Frederick Pisani, the first interpreter of this embassy, and inform him more particularly of your wishes.

On the subject of the steamer I am less at liberty to act as you desire. The vessel is expected every day to move in a different direction from yours, and before she is free you will probably have embarked in one of the weekly boats to Trebizond. I return you the letters you inclosed for my perusal. I beg you will believe me, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

STRATFORD CANNING.

His Excellency also gave permission to Mr. Southgate to allow me to preach in the chapel, on Sunday, the 12th of November. On the 5th of November I received a letter from Mr. Leeves, of Athens, of the following gratifying contents:

My dear Mr. Wolff, Athens, Oct. 31, 1843.

I take advantage of the French steamer of to-day to do what I wished to have done last night by Sir James Stirling, but had not time; namely, to write you a line. You will remember the Greek proverb I quoted to you in the boat of the *Indus* last night,—"Every hindrance is for good." So I trust it has proved now; for your misfortune of last night has called forth many expressions of kindness and sympathy in your honourable and benevolent mission. When we got up to Sir Edmund Lyons' house last night, the first movement of Sir James Stirling's heart upon hearing this mishap was, "We must not let Mr. Wolff's funds be affected by this: we must raise a purse among ourselves to pay his passage in the French steamer." And when Sir Edmund Lyons, who was then out of the room, returned, he immediately closed with the idea of sending you on in the *Vesuvius;* and the thing had been fully settled between himself and Sir James Stirling before Lieutenant Leicester came up from the ship to make his regular report to his captain.

I hope this may prove an omen for good in reference to your mission, and that God will open the hearts of all men,—Englishmen and Greeks, Turks and Persians, Curds and Bokharians, Jews and Gentiles, to provide facilities for its success, and that many good results may flow from it, direct and indirect. I reckon among one of its good results, that I and all my family have renewed our acquaintance with Joseph Wolff, and we shall, I trust, remember you in our prayers. Do the same by us, and accept the kind regards of all the party, both *kissed* and *unkissed*.

Would you not let us have a line from you sometimes? It would be interesting to all here; and among others, I have no doubt, to the King and Queen, who were pleased with their interview with you. And now God bless you! and prosper abundantly your errand, and restore you in safety to your wife and son, to your adopted country and church.

Yours, affectionately,

H. D. Leeves.

Nothing could be more kind and prompt than Sir Edmund was in putting the *Vesuvius* at your disposal.

November the 4th, Mr. Schauffler, the missionary of the American board of Commissioners for foreign missions at Constantinople for the Conversion of the Jews, whom I had sent to America seventeen years ago at my own expense, called on me, and soon after Mr. Goodell, and welcomed me very affectionately.

November the 5th, being Sunday, I went with Mr. and Mrs. Southgate to church, and was clerk to Mr. Southgate. At three o'clock I hired an *araba* (Turkish cart), and went out to Buyukdere to Sir Stratford Canning, by whom, and Lady Canning, I was received in the kindest way possible, as also by Lord Napier and the rest of the attachés of the British embassy; and there I also met with Princess Mavrocordato. The general opinion was, that the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly was very uncertain. There was here a Russian gentleman who had acquaintances at Khiva, and who seemed to be inclined to believe the story of their death; but there were also people from Bokhara at Con-

stantinople who related that there were two Englishmen at Bokhara, one tall, another short and stout, and that the latter was kept in custody by a keeper of the mosque outside the city of Bokhara. The ambassador, however, suspended his judgment on the subject, and advised me not to call on the Bokharians until he had made more inquiries about them. After dinner, Sir Stratford Canning asked me to expound and read prayers. I left his Excellency at twelve o'clock at midnight, after which he ordered his boatmen to bring me on board the *Devastation*, for Captain Robinson her commander, to whom I had a letter from Admiral Sir E. Owen, was kind enough to invite me to sleep on board the steamer. Captain Robinson is a most amiable and pious gentleman.

On the 6th I called on Dr. Bennett, the chaplain to the embassy: he went immediately with me to Captain Walker, who is admiral of the Turkish fleet, and has the title Yavar Pasha. He knew me already in London, and promised me every assistance in his power. He is a very modest and delightful man, and his wife is a most excellent and amiable lady. He had no carriage to offer me to bring me back to Pera, where I lived with Mr. Southgate, and he offered me a horse; but as I was afraid to mount a horse, I preferred hiring a cart dragged by oxen, and returned thus to Constantinople. On coming back to Southgate, I learnt that Mr. Brown, the American chargé d'affaires, had called on me, and wished to inform me that the Neapolitan chargé d'affaires desired to know when he could call on me, in order to speak with me about Signor Naselli, who had proceeded to Bokhara, whose fate was also doubtful.

I forgot to mention that Mr. Frederick Pisani, the first interpreter to the British embassy, called on me on Sunday the 5th of November, at eight o'clock in the morning, and told me that the despatches from government in England had instructed them that all the necessary documents, just as I desired them, should be procured for me, and that I should have them

on the 17th of November, those from the Sultan as well as those from the Sheikh Islam; that he had already applied for them, and that the Turks expressed their astonishment at my courage and determination.

On the 7th of November, when Sir Stratford Canning was in his palace of Pera, with Lady Canning and Lord Napier, I had a confidential conversation with the ambassador on the subject of Conolly and Stoddart; all I can say about it is, that the conversation *was not discouraging.* He again invited me to dine with him the week following, and to expound again; he also promised to give me despatches to Trebizond and Erzroom, so that my journey to Persia would cost but little.

At this period I was visited by the chargé d'affaires of the king of Naples, who informed me of Cavalier Pietro Naselli Florey, a Sicilian, of whom it was also reported that he had been put to death; but this report had turned out to be a mere fabrication, and therefore he could assure me of sincere thanks on the part of his Neapolitan Majesty, if I could make inquiries about him on my arrival at Bokhara, which I promised to do.

The evidence that I encountered at Constantinople with respect to Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly was of the most conflicting description. I subjoin the following details, which then reached me:

I. Monsieur Danielewsky, late consul of his Imperial Majesty at Khiva, and now occupying the same position at Belgrade, assured Sir Stratford Canning that he had seen several persons from Bokhara when at Khiva, some of whom declared they had witnessed the execution of the British officers. Some stated their belief that it had taken place from hearsay, and some even described their persons, agreeing therein with the impression which Mr. D. had received from others respecting their personal appearance on former occasions, before their

labours and their sufferings had become an object of public interest.

II. The following letter to Sir Stratford Canning was also communicated to me.

Sir, Trebisond, August 16, 1843.

Dr. Casolani, of the quarantine department, has informed me that several natives of Bokhara have recently arrived at the lazaretto from the interior, with one of whom Dr. Casolani, entered into conversation respecting Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. The Bokharalee stated that he quitted his native place about six months ago; that he was in Bokhara at the time news reached that place of the reverses which the British forces had met with in Affghanistaun, and that on such news being communicated to the Ameer or chief of that country, the two English ambassadors then there, (meaning Messieurs Stoddart and Conolly, and who are described by the Bokharalee as a tall, and the other as a short man,) were called up for sentence. On being offered their liberty, provided they embraced Mahomedanism, the tall man refused it, and was put to death by having his throat cut; and that the short man, seeing the sad fate of his companion, had actually embraced Mahomedanism, and his life was spared. The latter, according to the Bokharalee's statement, now exists, and is employed as a servant in one of the mosques at Bokhara. The name of the Bokharalee who gave Dr. Casolani the information is Abdul Rahim-Jam Muhammed: he proceeds to Constantinople, with his companions, by one of the steamers, on departure to-morrow. He possesses a Turkish passport, granted him from this quarantine department, No. 11. If the person in question be properly interrogated, in a language he understands, I have no doubt that other particulars of importance, connected with the fate of the two British officers in Bokhara, might be obtained.

I have, &c.

FRAS. J. STEVENS,
V. Consul.

III. Sir Stratford Canning sent suddenly for me on the 8th of this month (November), and told me these words: "I have good news for you. There are people here from

Bokhara, who state that both Stoddart and Conolly are alive;* I advise you, therefore, not to go to see those people of Bokhara for two or three days, until I have seen them myself, and I will then let you know when to see them yourself. I am not quite so enthusiastic as you, but I shall rejoice if I should find the report confirmed."

IV. The *L'Impartial Journal, Politique, Commercial, et Littéraire, Smyrne*, Vendredi, 3 Novembre, 1843, had the following paragraph, headed INDES ORIENTALES, *Bombay, 2 Octobre:* "Le bruit a circulé ces jours ci, et il paraît venir de bonne source, que le Colonel Stoddart, dont on a annoncé la mort, *est en vie* à Bokhara, où il est retenu prisonnier."

I received a visit from Frederick Pisani, first interpreter to the British embassy, on the 5th of November (Sunday morning), and I requested him to get me the following documents:

1. A common travelling firmaun from the Sultan, mentioning the cities of Bokhara, Khokand, and Khiva.

2. Letters from the Sultan to the king of Bokhara, ordering him to set at liberty the English travellers Colonel Stoddart, Captain Conolly, and also the officers Lieutenant Steer and Dr. Balfour, if there. Should the above-mentioned officers be dead, the Ameer should state to me the reasons of their having been put to death, and how far he (the Ameer) is willing to make reparation to the satisfaction of the relations of the officers.

3. That I should not be detained one single day at Bokhara, but be sent back immediately with the said officers to Constantinople, where I was expected by the Sultan; in either case, after the space of six months from the time of my departure from Constantinople.

* In reply to those who have stated that my journey to Bokhara was undertaken on insufficient grounds, I have simply to refer to the opinion of our ambassador in Persia.

4. The Sultan should also give me letters for the kings of Khokand and Khiva.

5. Letters from the Sheikh Islam to the mullahs of Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand, to the same effect.

The letters, he informed me, would be procured, and firmauns, before the 15th of November, and that on the 17th of November Sir Stratford Canning would send me in a steamer, *free of expense*, to Trebizond and Erzroom.

My stay at Constantinople excited the liveliest interest in all directions. I preached repeatedly in the ambassador's chapel, and expounded to his Excellency's family. Walker Pasha invited me, with great kindness, to see him. The Count and Countess Stürmer, the Austrian Internuncio, also invited me to dine with them on the 23rd of November. Countess Stürmer said to me on that occasion, "How happy you will be, if you meet with Captain Conolly again: you deserve it, and Conolly loved you very much. He always spoke of you when he was at Constantinople." His Excellency Count Stürmer observed, that he had learnt from several persons that the notion of the personal reign of Christ and the restoration of the Jews was believed by many in England. I met there the Russian and Prussian ambassadors, and also General Jochmus, who conversed with me a good deal about Charles Churchill, of whom General Jochmus told me he took such an interest in the Jewish nation, that he would wish to become a second Judas Maccabæus. After dinner I lectured in German,—

I. On Christ's personal coming and reign on earth.

II. The first resurrection.

III. The renovation of the whole earth.

IV. The restoration of the Jews to their own land.

V. The conversion of all the tribes of Israel to the faith in Christ Jesus.

VI. The blessedness of the believers in the heavenly Jeru-

salem, who shall be the kings of the earth, whilst the nations not converted to Christianity shall be their subjects.

VII. A continual intercourse between the saints above and the people below shall take place.

VIII. The coming of the real Elijah before the advent of the Lord.

Count and Countess Stürmer then observed, that my views agreed in a great degree with those of the Rev. George Fisk, prebendary of Lichfield, whose acquaintance they had made at Constantinople.

It might appear from all this that I was neglectful of the high purposes of my mission amid these pleasant attentions, but the following letter from Sir Stratford Canning's head interpreter will probably acquit me of any unnecessary delay:

Dear Sir, Pera, Nov. 14th, 1843.

I have received his Excellency's letter about your affair: I have answered it. I am going on with your papers, but with all my zeal and the good will of his Excellency the minister for foreign affairs, we are both afraid it will be impossible to be ready for you this week.

Have the kindness to send me a note, with the names of the principal towns you are to pass through. Seven or eight names will do for the whole of Turkish Asia.

I am, very truly yours,

FRED. PISANI,

First Interpreter to H. B. M. Legation.

At this period I despatched to my kind friend, Captain Grover, the following letter:

My dear Grover, Constantinople, Nov. 11, 1843.

The greatest interest is excited here, among the members of the diplomatic body, about my mission into Bokhara. His Excellency Count de Stürmer, Internuncio of his Majesty the Emperor of Austria at the Sublime Porte, has expressed a wish to make my personal acquaintance, and has invited me to dine with him next Monday. To-morrow (Sunday) at four o'clock, I shall expound the Scriptures in the British embassy, when also Admiral Walker and Lady Walker will be invited to attend there,

and also to dinner. I am promised to have my papers from the Sultan and the Sheikh Islam on the 16th; and on the 17th I shall set sail for Trebizond, and then I shall have no delay till Teheraun. I hope to arrive at Bokhara at the end of January. Pray ask government whether I shall be allowed to ransom them (Stoddart and Conolly), or any other English prisoners, in case I am demanded. Yours, affectionately,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

The Internuncio, who had promised to assist me to the full extent of his power, furnished me with the kindest proofs of it, and addressed to me the following letter:

(TRANSLATION.)

Reverend Sir, Constantinople, November 20, 1843.

I have, alas! not succeeded in my endeavours of procuring for you letters of recommendation for Khiva and Bokhara. Only the Sublime Porte is in correspondence with those countries, and from that quarter you will receive letters of introduction, through the application of the British embassy. I send you herewith letters of recommendation for the excellent Austrian consul, who is at the same time Russian consul; and herewith I also send to you a letter for my particular friend Count Colloredo, ambassador to his Majesty the Emperor of Austria at the court of St. Petersburg. I beg you at the same time to accept, as a mark of respect from me, Hammer's *History of the Osman Empire*, which may be an amusement to you on your long journey. Should you return safely to England, I beg you to send to me in return for it your Journals, which I and my wife will read with the greatest attention.

Could we have the pleasure of seeing you once more to dinner next Monday? or would you mention some other day convenient to yourself, Friday excepted, in case that you want to eat meat? With true regard, I am, reverend sir,

Yours, most sincerely,

COUNT STÜRMER.

Various attempts were made at this period to deter me from proceeding to Bokhara: hints were thrown out, that it would be better not to proceed beyond Meshed, and to pour money into Bokhara.

By the kindness of Sir Stratford Canning I was, however, speedily enabled to announce my departure to my friend Captain Grover in the following letter:—

My dear Grover, Buyukdere, British Palace, 24th Nov., 1843.

The enclosed translation of the Sultan's letters to the kings of Khiva and Bokhara, will convince you of the great influence of Sir Stratford Canning at the Porte.

The Committee will also be glad to learn that Sir Stratford Canning ordered Mr. Stephen Pisani, his dragoman, to introduce me in person to the Grand Vizier, the Reis Effendi, and the Sheikh Islam, all of whom have treated me with the greatest distinction. I leave to-day for Trebizond.

In great hurry, yours truly,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

Sir Stratford and Lady Canning acted *like parents to me*, and the dragomans, Messieurs Frederick, Stephen, and Count Pisani, showed themselves, in spite of their manifold occupations, most zealously anxious in my behalf; and also Lord Napier, Mr. Allison, and the rest of the *attachés*, displayed the deepest interest in the cause.

I insert the letter of the Sultan to the Ameer of Bokhara; and as that to the king of Khiva is couched in similar terms, with the exception of simply urging that monarch to recommend me to the king of Bokhara, and to treat me with the highest possible distinction in the event of my arriving in his dominions, I do not think it necessary to give this latter communication.

Letter from the Sultan Abdul Medjid to the Khan of Bokhara, dated Nov. 21, 1843.

Your Greatness knows that the English government, having requested some time since that we should graciously assist in the deliverance of two English officers that you had put in prison, we wrote to you to that effect.

As now Dr. Wolff, an English clergyman of distinction, is sent by the English nation to Bokhara to obtain information concerning the fate of the two officers above mentioned, as well as of two other Englishmen since arrived there, to take them with him and

conduct them to their country, the English government has again on this occasion requested, in a particular manner, that we should write to you a Sovereign Letter to request you to deliver up the above-named prisoners, to consign them to Dr. Wolff, and to cause them to return home.

Your Greatness knows, and it is superfluous to tell you, that the maintenance and preservation of the close and sincere friendship which exists since the most ancient time between our Sublime Porte and the Court of England, is the object of the desire of both parties; and, therefore, that the requests of the above-mentioned Court are favourably received.

It is therefore certain, that we ought to interest ourselves to the effect that the above-mentioned prisoners be restored to liberty and sent back to their country. In fact, it is a thing incompatible with the principles observed by governments, and with the dignity of sovereignty, to arrest and imprison such Moussafirs; and it is fit that your Greatness should cause them to return whence they came.

From the sentiments of equity and justice which animate you, and your obedience to our august person in our quality of Khaleef, we have the certainty that, conformably to what we have above remarked, you will be graciously disposed to liberate the prisoners, if they are still at Bokhara; we expect that your Greatness will have the goodness to consign them to the clergyman above named, and to make them depart immediately, that they may return to their country by way of Constantinople.

It is to express this expectation, and to consolidate the edifice of our sincere friendship, as well as to inquire the state of your health, that we have written to you this Sovereign Letter, on the receipt of which, if it please God, we expect that your Greatness will kindly employ your willing attention to the end above mentioned.

Some idea of the interest excited in the fate of the Bokhara captives may be formed from the following paragraph from the *Turkish Gazette*, dated 26 Sheval, or 20th November:

About three or four years ago, two English officers, both well versed in science and literature, were travelling for information: on arrival at the city of Bokhara, the governor there, suspecting them to be acting as spies, ordered them to be seized and thrown into prison. Their relatives and friends, not having received any

intelligence from or about them, were very anxious to know the truth, and made several inquiries; but the only information they could obtain was from some Bokhara merchants, who reported that whilst there (at Bokhara), they had heard that the government had these two officers executed. Such information not being satisfactory or positive, the above-named friends and relations, anxious to elucidate this affair, have selected the celebrated Mr. Wolff, a gentleman well versed in several languages, and who has been a great traveller in Asia, to proceed to Bokhara, and ascertain the fate of the two officers. This gentleman has now arrived, and is to proceed by the steamer to Trebizond, from thence to Erzroom, Persia, &c.

The following communication from Mr. James Calvert, agent to the East India Company at Malta, further indicates the interest excited on behalf of Colonel Stoddart and his fellow-sufferer:

Constantinople, 23rd Nov., 1843.

Should Dr. Wolff happily find Colonel Stoddart alive, he is requested to communicate to him that his friend Mrs. Sidney Horton, who has been residing at Siena some years, takes a most lively interest about him. On the 29th of November, 1841, she wrote to my son Charles as follows: "I am in expectation that my son may arrive at any moment at Malta from India, and also that a friend of mine will do so by the very next steamer. Will you, therefore, make inquiry, and if he be there, take the trouble of letting him have the inclosed note,* [addressed to Colonel Stoddart,] and ask him in what way you can be useful to him: this I ask as a *friend*. Colonel Stoddart is an interesting person, and remarkable as being set free from a most barbarous captivity at Bokhara of more than two years duration."

On the 24th January, 1842, Mrs. Horton writes to my son: "I hope the Bombay Summary will bring me good news of my son, from whom I have received a letter,—quite well, I am thankful to say: he had joined his new regiment at Poonah. There is not, I fear, much chance of his coming to Europe for years to come. I am rather fidgety about Colonel Stoddart, as he will have to pass through a country (Affghanistaun) now rendered so dangerous to travellers."

* This note is at Malta.

Mrs. Horton writes to me on the 27th February, 1843: "You will have seen in the papers the dreadfully tragic fate of my poor friend Colonel Stoddart: it has affected me more than I can express, and it appears nothing can be done to obtain satisfaction, not even the knowledge of the cause of such cruelty."

I have been absent from Malta and residing here since April last, but shall return there shortly. My correspondence with Mrs. Horton has, therefore, been very seldom. I received here a letter from her, forwarded from Malta, and as it related to some matters to be attended to, I sent it back to Malta, and do not recollect its date, but it must have been dated about August last.

I need scarcely say how truly I shall rejoice to hear of Colonel Stoddart's and Captain Conolly's safety, and should he pass through Malta, how happy I shall feel to render him every service in my power.

Should Dr. Wolff have an opportunity of writing to Europe before his return, I shall feel gratified to hear from him any particulars he may have it in his power to give me from Bokhara, or, if after his departure, of his proceedings there: if he writes through Constantinople, his letter may be addressed to the care of Messrs. C. S. Hanson & Co. With the most fervent wishes for his safe return, accompanied by Colonel Stoddart, Captain Conolly, and any other captives he may succeed in releasing,

JAMES CALVERT,
Agent to the East India Company at Malta.

I should indeed be wanting in every principle of gratitude and affection, were I to be insensible to the great kindness shown to me by all the resident ministers at Constantinople, and by none more heartily than our own distinguished ambassador and his lady. After preaching, by his kind permission, in his chapel, I was repeatedly invited to Buyukdere; and after discharging duty at Pera, on the 12th November I left for Buyukdere, and preached and read service there also. I remained there until the 21st, when I delivered a lecture in the ambassador's chapel, where the above-mentioned diplomatists were again present, and the chapel was crowded with other people besides. On Wednesday the Russian ambassador sent his first dragoman, Monsieur de Seniayloff, with me to

the house of the Reis Effendi (minister of state for foreign affairs), in order to make the acquaintance of Haje Muhammed Shereef, a sheikh from Bokhara, who had just arrived from Mecca, and was on his way to Bokhara. On our arrival at the palace of the Reis Effendi, his Excellency was already in his carriage on his way to the seraglio. Monsieur de Semayloff went out of the carriage in which we both came, and approached the Reis Effendi, to ask his permission to introduce me to the sheikh. The Reis Effendi immediately asked,—"Have you Joseph Wolff with you? *Sem.* "Yes."—"Pray bring him here, for I myself wish to see him." His Excellency (his name is Rifaat Pasha), as soon as he saw me, said that the Sultan had written all the letters in the strongest manner, and that his Majesty and the whole court admired my courage and philanthropy, and his Excellency wished to speak with me also the next day. He sent immediately one of his officers back with me to his palace, to introduce me to the Bokhara sheikh, who at once recollected having seen me twelve years ago at Bokhara, in the house of the Goosh Bekee. He promised me every assistance on his arrival at Bokhara, but as he went *viâ* Orenbourg, I was not able to go with him.

On the 23rd, Sir Stratford Canning sent with me Mr. Stephen Pisani, his most energetic and clever interpreter, to the Sheikh Islam, the first mullah of the Muhammedan religion at Constantinople, who is the only person allowed to sit down in the presence of the Sultan,—and the Sultan even kisses his hand. His influence extends not only over Turkey and Arabia, but into Central Asia, and wherever Muhammedans of the Sunnée persuasion exist. He also received me in the kindest manner, and told me that he had already sent his letters for me to the mullahs of Khiva, Bokhara, Khokand, and Daghestaun. His Felicity (this is his title) is a man about seventy years of age, with a white beard, a large green turban upon his head, clothed in a kind of red velvet tunic, with a

white band around it. Another mullah was sitting on his left, at a considerable distance from him, upon the divaun. The Sheikh Islam offered me a pinch of snuff: I replied, "Though I was not used to take snuff, I considered it such a high honour to do so with so distinguished a personage, that I would take a very hearty pinch." And so I did, and my sneezing after convinced him of the truth of my remark. I then expressed my joy to have now seen all the heads of every religion on earth; and that it was my wish that the good understanding which then subsisted between England and the Porte might long continue. The Sheikh Islam replied that this was also his ardent desire.

I then called on the Reis Effendi, who delivered to me eight letters of introduction:

I. From the Sultan: 1. to the king of Khiva; 2. to the king of Bokhara, which his Majesty wrote with his own hand at night.

II. From the Sheikh Islam: 1. to the mullahs of Bokhara; 2. to the mullahs of Khiva; 3. to the mullahs of Khokand.

III. From the Reis Effendi; 1. to the Pasha of Trebizond; 2. to the Pasha of Erzroom; 3. to the General-in-chief of the army at Erzroom.

The Reis Effendi then advised me to call on the Grand Vizier, and on the Cadi of Roumelee, which I did, by all of whom I was received with the greatest kindness and politeness, and all of them recommended me particularly to the Sheikh of Bokhara above mentioned, whose name was Haje Muhammed Shereef Bokharaae. I then returned to the Reis Effendi, who said to me, "I am very much concerned about you, and so we are all at court; and therefore you ought not only to call on me, but on all the ministers of the Sultan, as the Grand Vizier and the Cadi of Roumelee. With the latter you can speak Arabic and Persian, for he is a very learned man." I did accordingly, and both the Grand Vizier and the judge of Roumelee expressed a great interest in my mission. I met

there with Mr. Allison, the first secretary to the British embassy, who told me that the general impression was that I was an ambassador.

On my return to Mr. Southgate's house, I met first of all a Syrian Jacobite bishop from Mardeen, who menaced Mr. Southgate with the threat that he would induce the Syrians to unite with the Russian church, if he did not give him more money. One can perceive by this circumstance the sad state of the Eastern churches; and the best mode of establishing a union with them is, to give them—first, knowledge of the Gospel; and secondly, to make them acquainted with translations into Arabic, from the old Syriac, not understood by the common people in the Syrian church, the beautiful liturgy of Ephrem Syrus, of whose piety I give an example by a translation of one of the Prayers of that great man, who was born in the birth-place of Abraham, the ancient Ur of the Chaldees, now called *Orfa* by the Turks, *Ruha* by the Arabs, and *Edessa* by the Armenians, at *Edessa* in the year 370, A.D. as they affirmed when I was there in the year 1824; but Ecclesiastical History and Assemanni inform us that he was born in the neighbourhood of Nisibin, the *Acad* of Genesis x. 10. It is related of his parents, who were agriculturists, that they made him when a boy acquainted with the Scriptures, of which he became an enlightened interpreter.

He early deplored that he had, at one time, doubts of God's providence, and had believed in *fate*. He became the disciple of Jacob, bishop of Nisibin. It is further related of Ephrem Syrus, that he was totally unacquainted with worldly sciences, and only versed in the Scripture; and that this inexhaustible fountain made of him one of the most learned fathers of the church. This is the translation of a prayer of Ephrem Syrus, recited every day in the churches of the Maronites in Mount Lebanon, and by the Syrians in Mesopotamia:—

PRAYER OF EPHREM SYRUS.

"Jesu! Parent and best of Pastors, I call upon thee with supplication and mourning; I call on thee as the royal Psalmist has instructed me,—Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy great mercy: wash me thoroughly from my wickedness, and cleanse me from my sin. Against thee only have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight, and provoked thee grievously to wrath; but thou art gracious and long-suffering beyond our faith; thou willest not that thine indignation burn against us, neither wilt thou suffer the favour of thy countenance to be over-clouded by our sin. By the love of thy Father, and of thy Spirit, I pray and beseech thee to pardon all my transgressions. Thou seest me as one of those most happy sheep who live under thy care: but, wretched man that I am! I have departed from the flock, foolishly wandering hither and thither, suffering myself to be deceived by the devices of the betrayer. O beloved shepherd! come forth, I pray thee, and seek me; and having found me, bring me back to the fold on thy shoulders, that angels above, and thy spouse the Church below, may rejoice together with all thy children over the sheep which was lost and is found.

"Suffer me not, O Lord! to be plucked out of the way of thy mercy, that allureth and draweth to thyself the most wretched of mankind. Accept the penitence of thy most unworthy servant who sues to thy Majesty, and through the abundance of thy grace vouchsafe forgiveness unto him as thou didst unto the thief, and be pleased to heal all the wounds of sin, to which none but thyself can administer relief. O most blessed Jesu! the health and salvation of men, and the giver of all good! thou who didst offer up thyself on the mount of Calvary, that thou mightest reconcile our nature to thine Eternal Father by the all-prevailing sacrifice of thy body, and out-pouring of thy soul unto death, receive, I beseech thee, my supplications and prayers, for thy name's sake! Amen."

Ephrem Syrus died a deacon in the Syrian church.

Another Syrian called on Mr. now Doctor Southgate, and he related to me the following account of Ephrem Syrus. When Ephrem Syrus came near Orfa, he besought God that the first person whom he should meet, should tell him something from the holy Scripture. The first person he met with

was a woman of bad character; he looked at her for a moment, and then, sorrowful, looked away from her, afflicted that his prayer had not been heard. The woman, who observed that after he had looked at her he became thoughtful, put herself in his way, and looked at him. He asked her why she stood before him? She replied "I have a right to do so, for I was taken from thee, as thou art a *man;* and thou lookest upon the earth, from which thou hast been taken!" Ephrem was astonished that God had heard his prayer in such an extraordinary manner,—that the first whom he was to meet should tell him something from Scripture.

When he had taken a house in the city, he observed that a coquet lived near him, who was able to look from her window into his room. She called to him, "My father, give me thy blessing." He went to the window: when he perceived the woman he said, "I pray God that he may bless thee!" She asked whether he was not in want of any thing in his lodging? "Yes," he replied, "some stones and clay, in order to wall up the window through which thou art able to look." "Thou treatest me harshly," she replied. "I should like to become intimate with thee, and thou art averse to speak with me."—"Well," Ephrem replied, "come with me to the public market-place." She replied, "Should we not be ashamed there, in the presence of so many people?"—"If," he replied, "we have reason to be ashamed before men, have we not rather more reason to be ashamed before God, who looks into the inmost recesses of our hearts?" The woman was touched, the ray of mercy shone through her heart; she repented, he read with her the Scripture, and she died a penitent woman.

Ephrem Syrus preached the tidings of salvation to Jews and Gentiles.

I met also Mr. Nicolayson, just arrived from Jerusalem, who was very glad to see me, and he expressed a wish that I should come to see them at Jerusalem. I received then a note from Sir Stratford, requesting me to go back with him to

Buyukdere, in the steamer *Devastation*. I did so accordingly. On the 24th, Lady Canning herself sewed up my letters from the Sultan and the Sheikh Islam in my coat, gave me tea and sugar, and saddle and bridle. Sir Stratford gave me a telescope and compass. I cannot express how much the whole committee owe to Sir Stratford and Lady Canning. Two days before quitting Constantinople I visited the convent of the Bokhara and Samarcand derveeshes, who were highly rejoiced when they perceived that I was acquainted with their country, but were not able to give me any information about Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly.

I must not omit to mention, that the Rev. Mr. Nicolayson was waiting to obtain a firmaun in order to be allowed to erect a church at Jerusalem, without which they never can build. I am glad to perceive that by the firmaun which has been now granted to the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews to build a church at Jerusalem, that the plan which I recommended in my first and second editions has been followed, and that they are allowed to build a church within the limits of the British consulate, which restriction is *three times* repeated in the firmaun itself.

I must not, however, forget to mention also my obligations to Lord Napier, to Messrs. Allison, Tod, Wood, F. Pisani, Count A. Pisani, all attached to the British mission, and to Mr. Lafontaine, who exerted himself kindly in obtaining information for me about Stoddart and Conolly. Mr. Hunter, also, one of the proprietors of the *Times*, was most actively engaged in spreading a favourable report of my mission. Count and Countess Stürmer, and Mr. de Titow, furnished me with letters for the road. Sir S. Canning paid my passage-money to Trebizond. Before I left, Sir Stratford said, "You must return *viâ* Constantinople, for if you succeed we receive you in triumph; if not, we will try to console you. And with either result, your expedition must be viewed as a national act, and will conduce to the honour of the British

nation." Many other persons made the remark, "What a bold, straightforward, generous gentleman Captain Grover must be."

At one o'clock (November 24), I embarked on board the *Metternich*, an Austrian steamer, commanded by a kind captain, Signor Clician, which vessel Count Stürmer ordered to call for me at Buyukdere. Lord Napier gave me, when on board, Luther's *Exposition of the Epistle of St. Peter*, printed in German three hundred years ago; and also the *Life of Goethe*, written by Falck, a remarkable work, as Falck died before Goethe. All the rest of the attachés accompanied me on board, and took leave of me. I took with me one servant, a Servian, Michaele. Signor Clician showed to me the book in which his passengers had written their names; and I met with the following,—

Lord Pollington, May twenty-eighth, 1838, from Constantinople to Trebizond. I have passed three days very pleasantly on board the *Metternich*, and I have every reason to thank Captain Ford for his kindness.

And most remarkable:

I beg to add my thanks to Captain Clician for his kindness during a passage from Constantinople to Trebizond.

August 24, 1839. ARTHUR CONOLLY.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival at Trebizond—Singular Report of Signor Ghersi. Interview with the Pasha of Trebizond. Subscription to Mission at Trebizond. Departure for Erzroom—terrific Route—Gumush-Khané. Conviction of the Turks that their Empire is sinking. Murad Khan Oglu—Balahor—Bayboot. Kob—curious Story of a Derveesh at this Village. Ashkaleh—Elijehtebbe—Warm Springs. Erzroom. Dispute between Turks and Persians on Frontier Question. Mr. Brant, the Consul—his Kindness—Interview with Pasha of Erzroom. Etymon of Erzroom. Pasha of Erzroom pays Dr. Wolff's Expenses to Persian frontier. Letter from Erzroom to Captain Grover. Baptism of a converted Jew. Proposed Route—Detention at Erzroom by inclemency of Weather. Kindness of Colonel Williams and Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse. Letter to Captain Grover—Letter from Colonel Williams. Public Address to the Muhammedans. Letters to England. Contribution to Mission from a Gentleman at Trebizond. Address to the Armenians.

On the 26th of November, the steamer stopped towards the evening for one hour at Samsoon, where Mr. Richard White Stevens is British vice-consul, brother to Mr. Francis Iliff Stevens, British vice-consul at Trebizond. Mr. Stevens at Samsoon called on board the *Metternich*, and told me that I was already expected at Trebizond and Erzroom, and that his brother at Trebizond had prepared a room for me. We then stopped a few hours at Sinope, where Diogenes was born. On the 27th I arrived at Trebizond, a spot famous in history for the hospitality with which it received the 10,000 Greeks with Xenophon. Here, the instant they saw the sea, they exclaimed, "The sea! the sea! the sea!" Justinian and Hadrian beautified and improved this place.

Trebizond is the native place of Cardinal Bessarion, who, in the fifteenth century, engaged and seduced by the splendid

presents and promises of the Latin pontiff, employed the whole extent of his authority and the power of his eloquence to persuade the Greeks to accept the conditions of peace that were proffered by Eugenius, with regard to the procession of the Holy Spirit,—purgatory,—the legality of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper,—and the supremacy of the Pope.

Bessarion was the protector and supporter of the Platonic school, a man of unparalleled genius and erudition. It was also the birth-place of George of Trebizond, or Georgius Trapezuntius, though Tiraboschi contradicts this, assigning him the name of Trabezuntius simply from the former residence of his family in that place. Tiraboschi makes him a Cretan, and born there in 1395. He studied long at Padua, and was Greek professor at Vicenza; he was afterwards summoned to Rome, but banished thence for some offence committed in his version of the Almagest of Ptolemy. Though restored, he was again unfortunate enough to incur fresh displeasure, and was imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo. He died in 1488.

The pears of Trebizond are famous. The Goths conquered that place, and cut to pieces thousands of its inhabitants.

On our arrival, Dr. Casolani, superintendent of the quarantine, came on board, and expressed a very sincere joy and sympathy with my present object. Soon after, Mr. Stevens, the British vice-consul, sent to me Mr. Dixon, son to Dr. Dixon at Tripolis, whom we knew at Malta, and that gentleman welcomed me in the name of Mr. Stevens. Arriving at the house of Mr. Stevens, he and his two very amiable sisters received me with the greatest cordiality, and a room was prepared for me. In the evening I met a large party at dinner. The Austrian vice-consul, Signor Ghersi, also called on me: I had known him twelve years previous. He stated to me, that eight inhabitants of Bokhara had just arrived, who said that both Stoddart and Conolly were alive: the first, they said, under the name of Abdul Samut Khan, commanded the artillery, and that Conolly acted under him as his Kiaya.

On the 28th of November, Mr. Stevens, the vice-consul, introduced me to the Pasha of Trebizond, for whom I had a letter of introduction from the Reis Effendi. He received us in the most satisfactory manner, gave me a passport for the road, and a tatar. He is, however, generally regarded as a great brute, bigoted, and an enemy to the reforms made by the Sultan. He cannot bear Europeans, and tries to discourage every attempt to civilize his people at Trebizond, and maltreats the Christians whenever he has an opportunity. An association of European Christians ought to be established for giving protection to the Eastern Christians, to Armenians, Greeks, and Chaldeans. It is true that the Christians in the East are now, by long oppression, so degraded, that they will not feel much gratitude for the assistance of Europeans; but we ought not to do good in order to receive thanks from men, but for the sake of humanity. Even civilized people do not always feel gratitude for benefits received.

Trebizond is inhabited by Armenian and Greek Christians, beside Turks, and some European Christians. And around Trebizond are great numbers of villages inhabited by Greeks, who outwardly profess the Muhammedan religion, but in secret they practise the Christian religion. This they have carried on since the establishment of Muhammedanism at Constantinople. They have their priests, who, in secret, are ordained by the patriarch of Constantinople, and by the bishop of the Greek church at Trebizond.

I lectured in Italian that same evening, and through the great kindness of Mr. Stevens four thousand four hundred piastres were collected for defraying the expense of my journey to Erzroom, equivalent to forty-four pounds sterling; so that I had not yet drawn one single farthing from my money since I left England.

Messieurs Stevens and the Misses Stevens are the children of Mr. Stevens, my solicitor at Malta; the most kind-hearted, hospitable, and excellent people I ever met with. Mr. Ghersi

is also a very nice, open-hearted, and liberally minded gentleman, and so is Dr. Casolani.

I set out, on the 1st of December, for Erzroom, with my Servian attendant, Michael, a tatar of the Pasha and an excellent Turk, who always walked near me when I ascended the precipices of Trebizond. The road from Trebizond to Erzroom was horrid, so that I walked the whole day on foot.

On my arrival at Gumush-Khané,—which means 'house of silver,' for there are silver mines there,—as I had a letter from Ghersi, the Austrian and Russian consul at Trebizond, for a wealthy Armenian, Arrakel Cibukci-Oglu (the son of the pipe-maker) by name, I took up my lodging with him, where I also met with the Armenian archbishop, a well-informed gentleman, who was very glad to make the acquaintance of "Mr. Wolff," of whom he had heard so much.

I met in his house also with an Armenian pilgrim from Jerusalem, who had just arrived from that city, and had seen there the bishop of the Protestants. The Armenians at Gumush-Khané, however, are not satisfied with their archbishop, and accuse him of tyranny. The Sultan has conferred great powers on the Armenian and Greek bishops, and encourages them in punishing those of their flock who have intercourse with the Protestant missionaries; and therefore the worthy missionaries stationed at Trebizond and Erzroom have their hands tied, and can do nothing. Messrs. Bliss and Benjamin, missionaries from America stationed at Trebizond, and Messrs. Peabody and Jackson at Erzroom, are most worthy people, quiet and peaceable, and zealous in their work; but the Armenians are prohibited by their bishops to receive them into their houses.

What a beautiful country the Turkish empire would be if in the hands of a European power, for it is blessed with every thing by nature; but it will never be improved by the Turks, for, beside their natural indolence, the Muhammedans have a strong conviction on their minds that they will be driven out

of their present possessions, and that their labours will be for the benefit of Christians, who will become the rulers of their country. This conviction has not only been produced by the superiority exercised over them by the European powers, but also by old traditions, sayings, and prophecies of their own. And it is for that reason that I always engaged the attention of their mullahs when I spoke to them about the second coming of Christ, the restoration of the Jews, and that those events shall be ushered in by unheard-of judgments over all countries.

There are in Gumush-Khané two hundred Armenians, two hundred Mussulmans, four hundred Greeks, and eight Catholic Armenians. The Armenians have one church, and the Greeks four churches. The Armenians lamented that their schoolmaster had just left them, and that they were without a school at present; but the archbishop wrote for one to Constantinople. The archbishop of Gumush-Khané is also archbishop of Trebizond, and his net income amounts annually to the vast sum of eighty dollars, *i. e.* sixteen pounds sterling.

I left Gumush-Khané on Monday the 4th of December, and re-crossing the river before the town, took a more easterly direction through a rocky valley, surrounded by a line of mountains. After some hours ride, the country assumed a more pleasant appearance: we observed it was covered with verdure, and goats were running about in the plain. We slept that night at a miserable place called Murad Khan Oglu, and the next day we arrived, in the afternoon, in a village called Balahor, for which place I had a letter from the archbishop of Gumush-Khané for an Armenian called Stephan, who received me hospitably in his house, which was remarkable for having a dome, in contrast to the general flat roofs of the East. Most of the Kurdish houses are of that form, and also in Armenia: they are exceedingly dark. My poor host was very kind.

On the 6th of December we arrived at Bayboot, surrounded

by high and bare mountains: a rapid stream runs through the place. It contains four hundred Mussulmans, and one hundred Armenians, and has six mosques and one church. As I had a letter for Mombjoo Oglu Stephan, an Armenian merchant, I was hospitably received by him; and the Armenian priests also called. A place of quarantine is established there, where the Turks and others who come from the interior of Turkey, are obliged to undergo the quarantine for nine days. An Italian physician, Luigi Ercolani by name, was placed over it: he called on me, and I found him to be well versed in the Italian literature, and, as a Roman by birth, well acquainted with the distinguished characters of that city; he seemed also to be well versed in his profession. He informed me that the greatest physicians in Italy at that period were Dr. Buffalini at Florence, and Drs. Folchi and Mattei at Rome. I also had a visit from an Armenian, Haje Anbar by name; when he entered the room all rose, for he had only arrived three months ago from Jerusalem: he spoke kindly of the English, and the account of the state of Jerusalem was rather gratifying. The Armenians live in peace there —not disturbed or oppressed by the Turks,—and Zacharias Wardapet is their patriarch. He told me that he accompanied Bishop Alexander to Beth-Lehem.

December 7th, we arrived in the village called Kob, whence the tatar was obliged to take two men to carry me safely over the mountains, covered with snow, for two hours. I paid to the poor people fourteen piastres. I am now a more wretched horseman than I ever was before, so that Dr. Casolani, and Mr. Stevens the vice-consul of Trebizond, found it to be expedient to send with me a Turk, Omar by name, who always walked near my horse when I rode, but I generally preferred walking. An excellent fellow he was: when the horse stumbled in the least, and I cried out, he immediately took hold of the bridle, and exclaimed, "*Sarar yok, Beyk Zadeh!*"—'No danger, Son of the Bey!'

In the time of Sultan Murad, a holy derveesh was residing in this village of Kob. When the Sultan Murad was returning from his expedition to Persia, he came to this village; and meeting that derveesh, he took him with him to Constantinople in order to mock at him. On their arrival at Stambool, that derveesh was bold enough to reprove openly the monarch on account of his tyranny; for which the Sultan, in his wrath, ordered him to be put into a fiery furnace,—from which, however, the holy man came out untouched. The Sultan, perceiving by this that he had to do with a real man of God, took him into his treasury, and told him that he should take out of it whatever he pleased. The derveesh selected a girdle and a book, at which the Sultan was much surprised, and asked him why he had not taken money; he replied that he was not in want of money, but requested the Sultan that he should permit him to return to his native village, and there bestow upon him various fields and meadows for his and his descendants' benefit. The Sultan, gratified at his moderation, gave him the grant of his request by a firmaun, which secured to him and his heirs the village of Kob, free of tribute. After his return to his native village he commenced husbandry, and prospered. He had a wife, who used to take his food in the field to him; and he also had a daughter, who went on a certain day to take her father's food to him: on her arrival in the field she discovered that the plough used by her father was drawn by griffins, and the harness was of snakes and serpents. She returned home and related what she had witnessed, which so annoyed her father that he offered up a prayer that no female of the family should ever arrive at a marriageable age. The second generation is now living, and they have never been able to rear a daughter beyond ten years old, but they have sons. The descendants of this good derveesh still occupy the village. They have built a college, and every person in the village of Kob knows how to read and write. They have abolished smoking, as an idle habit, and

there is not a pipe to be seen in the village. Sixty men are residing in the village above the age of eighteen, and the rest are composed of females. The head of the village, Sheikh Abd Ullah, grandson of the above holy derveesh, is now performing a pilgrimage to Mecca.

We then arrived, after seven hours from Kob, in the village called Ashkaleh, where one crosses, the first time, the western Euphrates, called in Turkish *Kara Soo*, 'black water;' near Dia-Deen the eastern Euphrates flows, called Moorad; when they are united together about Kaban Madan, they are called Frat. At Ashkaleh I found again three derveeshes from Bokhara, who left that city four months ago. I asked them whether they had seen at Bokhara some English travellers?

Bokharalee. Yes; and it was reported for some time that they had been killed, but there was no truth in it; but one of them came from Khokand, with whom the king of Bokhara was angry, believing that he did assist the king of Khokand, and therefore put both the tall and short Englishman into prison; he let them out after some time, and they now teach the soldiers of Bokhara the European Nizam.

I recommended these Bokharalee to Mr. Stevens at Trebizond, and requested him to send them in a steamer to the British ambassador at Constantinople: this was done at my expense, and for which I paid six hundred piastres. The names of these derveeshes were: 1. Muhammed Badur, of Tashkand, in the Great Bokhara; 2. Muhammed Nasar, of the city of Bokhara; 3. Haje Falwan, of the city of Shahr Sabz, near Bokhara; 4. Haje Rustam, of Heraut.

On the 9th of December, 1843, I arrived at Elijehtebbe, where Pompey defeated Mithridates, a place deriving its name, like Thermopylæ, from its hot springs,—*elijeh*, spring, and *tebbe*, warm, *tepid*. A mineral bath is to be found there, where a Turk asked me whether the *Balius* (consul) of the English nation, residing at Erzroom, was not the "*Kraal Inglees Oglu*," the son of the king of England. This question

at least was, so far, gratifying, for it showed that our consul was respected at Erzroom; and thus I found it also to be the case, for on my arrival there the Turkish inhabitants of Erzroom, who thirteen years ago looked upon a European with contempt, saluted me kindly, and many walked with me to the house of the British consul, my old kind friend and host James Brant, Esq., who resided thirteen years ago at Trebizond. He received me with his usual straight-forward and cordial hospitality, and delivered me letters from my dear Lady Georgiana. He informed me that several of the English residents at Erzroom wished me to administer the sacrament to them on the day following, the 10th of December.

There was a dispute between the Turks and Persians with regard to the frontiers and the Kurds: British, Russian, Turkish, and Persian commissioners were therefore sent here to settle the affair. The following British subjects were, for this cause therefore, at Erzroom: 1. James Brant, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's consul. 2. H. H. Calvert, Esq., cancellière to the consulate. 3. George Guarracino, Esq., attaché to the consulate. 4. P. Zohrab, Esq., dragoman, and his wife and daughters. 5. Joseph Dickson, Esq., M.D., son to Dr. Dickson at Tripoli. 6. Colonel Williams, R.A.; and 7. Honourable Robert Curzon, son of the Honourable Robert Curzon and Lady La Zouch: both these latter gentlemen were the commissioners on the part of the British government. 8. J. Redhouse, Esq., secretary and dragoman to the commissioners, the greatest Turkish scholar in Europe: he was here with his amiable wife.

From Russia the following gentlemen were present as commissioners: 1. Colonel Dainese, commissioner. 2. Moukhine, interpreter. 3. Proseuriakoff, secretary.

From the Persian side: Mirza Takee, plenipotentiary.

Turkish side: Envery Effendi, plenipotentiary; and Dr. De Camin, his physician.

There live also at Erzroom Signor Garibaldi, Russian

consul; French consul, Monsieur Goepp; French interpreter, Monsieur Belin; Russian consul's secretary, Dr. Bertoni. Bekir Pasha, attached to Envery Effendi, called on Mr. Brant; he is a descendant of Abu Bekir,—speaks English well. There are also here the Revs. W. C. Jackson and Josiah Peabody, American missionaries; excellent people.

10th December, 1843, being Sunday, I read divine service, preached, and administered the sacrament to about seven English friends. All the British attended, except the Honourable Robert Curzon, who was prevented from attending, simply by weakness resulting from a dangerous fever.

His Excellency the Pasha of Erzroom, Kamilee Al Haje, a very amiable and polite man, paid a visit to Mr. Brant, my generous host, who had the kindness to introduce me to his Excellency, the above-mentioned Pasha. I delivered my letter from the Reis Effendi to him: he promised me every assistance in his power. The Russian consul also visited me. On the 11th I called on Colonel Williams, who had first called on me, on Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, and Mr. Curzon, who knew Lady Georgiana at Malta.

On this evening we had a very pleasant party at Mr. Zohrab's, the dragoman to Mr. Brant. I recollected Mrs. Zohrab and her daughters at Malta. There is a great deal of snow at Erzroom, and in the country around. No one could be more kind than Mr. Brant was to me, and all the officers of the consulate. I was now only four days distant from Mount Ararat. There are at Erzroom about forty thousand inhabitants, mostly Mussulmans, six thousand Armenians, and some hundred Armenian Catholics, with their bishop. I may also as well note here the etymon of Erzroom. It is derived from *Erz*, land, *Room*, Rome, indicating that it was part of the eastern Roman empire; and the Greeks are to this day called by the Turks, *Room*; and in Tūrkistaun and in Persia the Sultan of the Turkish empire is called the Sultan of *Room*.

Tuesday the 12th, I baptized the child of Mrs. Stagno,

and prepared a Jew, who went by the name of Robinson Crusoe's servant, Friday, for baptism; he was servant to Colonel Williams, who gave him a most excellent character. Shah Jemaal Addeen, of the celebrated family of derveeshes named Nakhsbande, a sheikh from Bokhara, called on me: he told me that I should find my friends alive, and that he would give me letters.

On this day I breakfasted with Colonel Williams; Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse and Mr. Brant were also there: after which Mr. Brant the consul, Colonel Williams the commissioner, and Mr. Redhouse the interpreter to the commissioners, and myself, mounted our horses and called on his Excellency the Pasha of Erzroom, Kamil Pasha by name. I was dressed in my canonicals. On entering the palace of the Pasha, Envery Effendi, the commissioner of the Sultan, for whom I had a letter from the Reis Effendi, was also there. Both the Pasha and the commissioner rose on our entering the room, and shook hands with us in the English manner. Chairs were offered to us; we sat down: then pipes, coffee, tea, and sherbet were brought. A long conversation about the Arabic and Persian literature took place; also on the history of Muhammed, the Arabian prophet, and on my travels through Asia. I then told them some anecdotes about Frederick II., and took in both the Pasha and the commissioner with the fish and the ring.

His Excellency the Pasha promised to defray the whole charge of my journey from Erzroom to the Persian frontier, and to send two soldiers with me at his own expense. My dear English friends here furnished me also with every thing necessary; and Messrs. Brant, Williams, Redhouse, and his amiable wife, took care of me like a brother.

On Wednesday the 13th I dined with Colonel Williams; Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, and Messrs. Calvert and Guarracino also dined there. I slept that night at Colonel Williams's, and on Thursday the 14th of December I gave the sacrament to the Honourable Robert Curzon and Mrs. Redhouse. In

the afternoon I lectured in the house of Mr. Brant, where Bekir Pasha and Anwaree Effendi were among the hearers; and as Anwaree Effendi does not understand English, Mr. Redhouse interpreted every sentence to him. Messrs. Peabody and Jackson, and their wives, were also present.

On the 16th I wrote as follows to Captain Grover.

My dear Grover, Erzroom, Dec. 16, 1843.

I thought it would be the easiest way, and the best, to have my letter to Lady Georgiana copied by Mr. Guarracino, the attaché to the British consulate at Erzroom, and send it to you. You will also herewith find inclosed another evidence of eight Bokhara pilgrims, which I got to-day through the kindness of our excellent consul, Mr. Brant, with regard to Colonel Stoddart's and Conolly's being still alive and well treated at Bokhara. God grant that it may be so! I am, however, very much encouraged by it.

As the road from Erzroom to Tabreez was covered with snow, Colonel Williams most kindly furnished me with a suit of winter clothing, and boots, &c., for the journey; so that I shall not be able to set out from Erzroom for Tabreez before next Wednesday, the 20th of December, when I shall leave Erzroom early in the morning. The commissioner of the king of Persia has also furnished me with letters of introduction to his friends on the frontier of Persia, and at Tabreez. Mirza Takee (this is the name of the commissioner) knew me at Tabreez, and was aware that I took with me from Persia Mirza Ibraheem to England, at my expense, and that he is now professor of the Persian language at the East India College, near Hertford,—Haileybury.

Yours, affectionately,

Joseph Wolff.

On Sunday the 17th of December I performed again divine service in the British consulate, and after the second lesson I baptized Israel Jacob, the above-named servant to Colonel Williams, one of her Majesty's commissioners at Erzroom. Israel Jacobs was a Jew from Germany. Colonel Williams, Mr. Brant, her Britannic Majesty's consul at Erzroom, and Mrs. Redhouse, stood as witnesses. I preached also, after the prayers were over, a sermon on the personal reign of Christ

and the restoration of the Jews. In the afternoon a Muhammedan from Bokhara called on me, the first that has told me that he had heard that Colonel Stoddart had been killed.

A visit to Envery Effendi, the commissioner on the part of the Turkish government, prevented my writing to Captain Grover this day. Mr. Brant and Mr. Zohrab accompanied me. Envery Effendi was much amused with my carelessness, and that I should have come to Erzroom without winter clothing. Envery Effendi also gave me letters to Balool, Pasha of Bayazid, and to the Turkish consul at Tabreez.

I delivered this afternoon another lecture here on my late journey from Bokhara to Calcutta, when again not only the English commissioners, but also Envery Effendi and Bekir Pasha attended it. I circulated here also in Turkish my *Call to the Mussulman Nation*, which was published in *Galignani* and the *Herald*. Mr. Redhouse kindly translated it, and another translation of it has been made into the Persian tongue. It is scarcely possible to imagine the interest evinced by my English friends here in my mission. I only wished to be enabled to show my gratitude to them in some way or other. No brother can be more kind to me than Mr. Brant, the consul, and Colonel Williams.

The following was to be my route, by the blessing of God:

Dec. 21.	Hassan Kaleh .	6 hours	18 miles.
22.	Khorassaun . .	8 ,,	24 ,,
24.	Mullah Soleiman .	15 ,,	45 ,,
25.	Kara Klesea . .	7 ,,	21 ,,
27.	Diadeen . .	12 ,,	36 ,,
28.	Bayazid . . .	6 ,,	18 ,,
29.	Awajik . . .	8 ,,	24 ,,
30.	Kara Aineh . .	8 ,,	24 ,,
31.	Zorahweh . .	8 ,,	24 ,,
Jan. 2, 1844.	Khoy . .	11 ,,	32 ,,
3.	Taswej . . .	8 farsang	32 ,,
4.	Tawshea . . .	6 ,,	24 ,,
5.	Tabreez . . .	8 ,,	32 ,,
			354 ,,

By this plan I considered that I should be on the 7th of January at Tabreez, and on the 20th of January at Teheraun.

December 19th, Mrs. Redhouse was kind enough to put together my papers, and to get for me biscuits and warm clothing: in short, both this lady and her husband took care of me like brother and sister. A tremendous snow-storm in the night, and we had in the morning a slight earthquake. I found that I should not be enabled to set out before the following Thursday, as the roads were blocked up with snow. Last night, for a whole hour, many guns were fired every five minutes, in order to warn poor travellers of the situation of the citadel, to save them from snow-drifts, as there are great quantities of marshes, &c. I received this day a note from Mr. Brant, the consul. He wrote to me,—

A poor French doctor, who persisted in starting yesterday for Kars, is, I fear, lost in Deveh Bouyoon, a mountain near Erzroom: he got before his people, who returned, but there is no news of him. The Pasha sent out people to look for him, &c.

JAMES BRANT.

I was clothed by Colonel Williams's kindness in the following manner: in an *aba*,—trousers made immensely large, a waistcoat and coat of the same. The coat is precisely the form of a shooting-jacket: over this a large loose coat, sleeves and body entirely lined with fur of wolf's skin: thus I was a Wolff in wolf's clothing: round my waist a large woollen shawl. On my feet, first of all some thick worsted stockings, light boots lined with fur, over all large leather boots like the Horse Guards, that came up to my hips: attached to my fur coat was a hood to draw over my fur cap when travelling, and a large pair of fur gloves sown to my coat. With all this, my friends believed me to be snow proof: Mr. Curzon told me that I looked like a gentleman on a shooting expedition. Should I be detained till after Christmas, the hospitable Mrs. Redhouse promised me a good Christmas dinner,—roast beef, plum-pudding, mince-pies, &c.

On the 21st I wrote to my kind friend Captain Grover, the following letter:

My dear Grover, Erzroom, Dec. 21, 1843.

A more active and benevolent fellow than yourself is not existing; I therefore write to you on a particular subject. My host here, James Brant, Esq., her British Majesty's cnsul at Erzroom, is a most excellent, educated, and philanthropic gentleman, through whose activity and exertions the commerce between Turkey and Persia has been most considerably increased and facilitated. Through his endeavours, six new consulships have been established in the interior of the Turkish empire, in places the most bigoted; and I can bear witness to the fact, that the spirit of the inhabitants of Erzroom has considerably been changed for the better. Formerly no European could have gone out in his European dress: now a European is respected. The streets have been made better, and the commerce between Turkey and Persia has considerably increased.

As the consul-general of Tripolis in Barbary, Colonel Warrington, is an old gentleman, and probably to be soon pensioned off, I should be much obliged to you if you would be kind enough to recommend him, by means of your other friends, to the Foreign-office. He is very anxious to contribute towards the abolition of slavery in Africa, and also to establish consulships in the interior of Africa. Pray do so.

The horses for my departure, and the two officers of the Pasha (cavasses), are already ordered to accompany me to Bayazid; but the snow is still so great, that neither caravans go or come, and therefore it is impossible for me to set out this week on my journey. I am exceedingly vexed, but it cannot be helped. Colonel Williams has also written to Sir Stratford Canning, that they were obliged to keep me from going almost by force.

Yours, affectionately,
JOSEPH WOLFF.

On the the 22nd, I received from my excellent friend Colonel Williams, the subjoined communication:

My dear Dr. Wolff, Erzeroom, Dec. 22nd, 1843.

I send you a pair of saddle-bags, and will request the Pasha to allow my cavass to affix a Turkish and Persian copy of

your Address to the Mussulmans at the gate of the principal Persian khaun, (better than palace or mosque).

I am sorry you did not think of it before, and I recommend you to cause to be posted up this document the moment you arrive at Tabreez and Teheraun.

You will find your sheep-skin "sleeping-bag" in the saddle-bag; and pray, my dear Doctor, DO NOT FORGET TO PUT YOUR FEET INTO IT!

With regard to your last question, I have not, and shall not ask or allow any person to club with me. I consider it my *duty* as a British officer to assist, in every possible manner, to forward your most praiseworthy and courageous attempt to release or discover the fate of my brother-officers,—for, recollect, we are *all brothers* in the army.

Yours, very faithfully,

W. F. WILLIAMS.

P. S. I do not think you can set out to-morrow. When my cavass gets permission, he will come to you for the two copies, and then affix them to the khaun.

The address alluded to in this letter, which I subjoin, was circulated among the Muhammedans in the Turkish empire, Persia, and Khorassaun, and from thence sent by Muhammedans to Affghanistaun, Cabūl, Cashmere, and Bokhara.

Followers of Islam!

In the whole Turkish empire, Arabia, and Affghanistaun, you remember me well. I have been among you at Damascus, Egypt, Aleppo, Bagdad, Isfahan, Bokhara, Cabūl, and Hindūstaun. I have conversed on the coming of Jesus Christ with Muhammedans, Jews, Parsees, and Hindūs. I have been well received, though differing in religious sentiments, by the Grand Mogul of Delhi and the Shah of Persia, the Grand-Mullahs of Bagdad, Constantinople, Isfahan, Cashmeer, and Bokhara. I have been to the utmost boundaries of the world, even to America, which is situated on the other side of the ocean, exhorting people to do good, and to repent for the sake of Jesus. And having learnt that two British officers of high merit, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, have been put to death by order of the Ameer of Bokhara, and also a Neapolitan officer, Cavalière Naselli by name, I am going to the Great Bokhara to ascertain the truth

of that report; for I cannot believe it, as I was well received at Bokhara, and with great hospitality. Besides this, such an act is against the rites of hospitality, so sacredly observed by Muhammedans. I go there to demand the bodies of these people alive, and if dead to demand the reason of their death. The Sultan of Constantinople, whose life may God preserve, and the Sheikh Islam, whose life may God preserve, have given me letters to the Ameer of Bokhara and to the Grand-Mullahs of that town. I call now on all the Muhammedan Princes and Mullahs throughout the world, to send letters of recommendation on my part to the King of Bokhara, that he may receive me well.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

The terrible state of the weather prevented my departure, for which event I was most feverishly anxious, as I considered that possibly the fate of Stoddart and Conolly depended on my speed. Anxious beyond measure that I might appear to realize to the full the noble and philanthropic views of those who had despatched me, I addressed to Captain Grover the following letter:

My dear Grover, Erzroom, Dec. 25, 1843.

About ten people have been brought to Erzroom dead from the road of Tabreez and Trebizond, so that you will not wonder that my dear friends here, Colonel Williams and Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse and Mr. James Brant, did not allow me to start till now for Tabreez; but I shall leave this on the 27th instant. Colonel Williams has furnished me with an entire suit of warm clothing. Not less than thirteen people from Bokhara have given the assurance to Mr. Stevens, the vice-consul of Trebizond, that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly are alive; and I rejoice to learn that also Lord Aberdeen has great hopes of their being alive, as I perceive by his despatches sent to Colonel Sheil through the British embassy at Constantinople, and from thence to Colonel Williams, with the request of allowing me to read the documents.

Give my love to every member of the Committee, and to your family.

Yours, affectionately,
JOSEPH WOLFF.

I think that I have already mentioned to you, that the Pasha of Erzroom pays all the expense of my journey as far as Persia.

The weather continued in unmitigated severity until Christmas. Stragglers were daily brought in from the roads dead, and my kind and excellent friends in Erzroom would not permit me to depart. On Christmas-eve, which I spent with Colonel Williams, Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, and Bekir Pasha, we all wrote to Lady Georgiana.

Bekir Pasha is the chief of the artillery. Thirteen people from Bokhara in all had now given me their assurance that Stoddart and Conolly were alive. A gentleman from Trebizond sent me here five hundred piastres, which I received on Christmas-eve, for the object of my mission. I trust I shall not omit to record any instance of kindness received; but if I do, a traveller's hurried life must plead my excuse. The Pasha of Erzroom drew out a call on all the Mussulmans, exhorting them to take an interest in my present mission. If the kindness of every class of religionists on earth can preserve a life, I feel that mine will be so, and that I go back to Bokhara with a *moral* force that amounts to the full measure of *political* power.

From this place I wrote to his lordship the Bishop of London a long letter on the zeal and excellent character of the Rev. H. Leeves, and other agents of the British and Foreign Bible Society, beseeching his lordship also to send a clergyman to Erzroom, for the British consulate; to my most beloved friend Sir T. Baring, commending Mr. Brant's interests to his charge; also to Henry Drummond, on various matters of religious interest. On the morning of Christmas-day I administered the sacrament to seven English people, and the Jew whom I had baptized. This took place at Mr. Brant the consul's private house, under whose hospitable roof I remained seventeen days. Before I left Erzroom, I published also the following address to the Armenian nation:—

Descendants of Hayk, and Followers of Gregory Lusaworitsh, Mesrop, Moses Vocazer, and Nerses Shnorhale!

I have been declared the friend of the Armenians by public letters of your late venerable Katokhikos Ephrem, and Nerses the present Katokhikos of Ech Miazin; and my having established schools for you at Bussorah and Busheer prove that I was your friend, and am still your friend; I have therefore to address to you the following petition. I am now going to Bokhara for the purpose of ransoming Colonel Stoddart, Captain Conolly, and Cavalière Naselli. From having been a Jew, it gives me particular pleasure to prove to the Gentile world that I love my Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, by being ready to lay down my life for the brethren, Gentiles as well as Jews. Knowing that the Armenians of Astrachan, Orenbourg, and Moscow are in correspondence with merchants of Bokhara, I beg you, and particularly your Archbishop Scrope at Astrachan, to write to the few Armenians residing at Bokhara, and also to recommend me to the great Emperor Nicholas Paulowitch, that he also may recommend me to the Ameer of Bokhara, so that his Majesty the Ameer of Bokhara may be induced to deliver up the above-mentioned officers.

Your affectionate brother in Christ,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

Before the late war of the Russians with Turkey, there were several thousand families of Armenians at Erzroom; but General Paskewitch, on his return to Russia, advised the Armenian bishop, and the rest of the Armenian population of Erzroom and the adjacent country, to follow him into Russia. About 90,000 families of Armenians in the Turkish empire followed the call of that hero, and they settled in Georgia, Karabagh, and other parts of the Russian empire.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure from Erzroom, December 27. Kerujak—Hassan Kaleh—Komassor—Delhi Baba—Armenian Marriage at this last Village. Taher, a Kurd Village. Mullah Soleiman, an Armenian Village. Kara Klesea—Kolassur—Utsh Kelesea—Diadeen—Ghizl-Deesa. Tremendous Snow-storm. Awajick—Karaine—Sehr Abad—Khoy Tashwish—Tawsar—Tabreez. Visit to an old Acquaintance in Prison, Muhammed Khan Kerahe. Autograph of the Khan, giving his Descent. Birth of Ghengis Khan. Timur—the Derivation of his Name. Falsity of the Statement of Saleh Muhammed—no certain Information of Stoddart and Conolly. Letters of Introduction to Bokhara—Letter to Stoddart and Conolly Committee. Armenian Festival and Khatshauran, or Washing of the Cross. St. Nierses of Lampron—Life and Writings of this learned Armenian Prelate. Decay of Muhammedanism. Departure from Tabreez, January 20th. Seydabad—Tekmetash—Awful Storm—Kulagh. Conversation with Derveesh. Tata Sultan—Kemasalee Howdbeen. Opinions of Mussulmans changed with respect to the Giaours. Turkman-Jaa—Miana—Sanjoon—Khoramtarah—Chaldeans—Meeting with their Metropolitan—their Descent from Israel. Ceremonies and Doctrine of the Chaldean Church. St. Thomas the Apostle. Siyadehen—Kasween—Sephir Khaja.

QUITTING Erzroom on the 27th, I waded through the snowy mountains from Armenia unto the frontier of Persia. My hardships were fully equal to those I experienced on the route to Erzroom, when the Turk that accompanied me by the side of my horse made me climb over various precipices, where I was compelled for safety to creep upon my stomach.

In leaving on this day the truly hospitable dwelling of Mr. Brant, two fine stately cavasses of the Pasha (to whom I was ordered by the Pasha not to give a farthing, as he would pay them himself) were in readiness outside the British consulate, on horseback, smoking their pipes. Colonel Williams had come on horseback to the consulate, with one of his servants. I then mounted my horse, and so did my Servian servant,

Michael, crossing himself and calling on the Virgin and St. George for protection, not omitting Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of Servia. The snow was still so high that I wanted to go on foot, but Colonel Williams said to me, in a commanding voice, "Never go down from your horse: for as long as you see that your other horse will be able to carry your baggage, this one will also be able to carry you. And beside this, imagine that you have behind you the people of Muhammed Kerahe of Torbad, driving you with their whip." This allusion to my old persecutor made me smile and obey. Colonel Williams accompanied me to a distance of six miles, just to the spot where, eight days before my departure, a French physician and ten muleteers had perished in the snow; and then Colonel Williams dismounted from his horse, gave me a glass of Tenedos wine to drink, drank my health, shook hands cordially with me, and returned to Erzroom. I continued my journey, accompanied by the above-mentioned cavasses, one mile further to a village called Kerujak, where we slept in the stable of a kind-hearted Turk; but the stables in Turkey have elevations made on purpose for travellers, where they are not exposed to the danger of being kicked by the horses, and these elevated places are pretty clean. A good pilaw was brought to me in the evening.

In the morning of the 28th we rose with the sun, and continued our journey; but the snow was still so high, that I certainly would have followed the bent of my inclination and walked on foot, if Colonel Williams had not made me promise not to descend from my horse, as long as the other could carry my baggage. I kept my eyes steadily fixed on the other horse, and perceiving that he waded, though with difficulty, through the snow, I remained firm; and thus we arrived that day six miles distant, to a place called Hassan Kaleh, where we again resided with a Turk. Hassan Kaleh was built by Oossun Hassan, the great prince of the dynasty of the White Wethers.

On the 29th of December we travelled as far as Komassor, where we slept in the house of an Armenian, whose room was not as clean as the stables of the Turks. There are only thirty houses of the Armenians in this place.

December 30th we arrived at Dehli Baba, where I again slept in the house of an Armenian. There are here thirty-five families and three priests. Most of the Armenians were gone on horseback to a neighbouring village, to fetch a bride, accompanying her, with musical instruments and clapping of hands, to their own village. The next day, December 31st, the road was so thickly covered with snow, that I was obliged to take with me two Armenians to drag me with my horse through the snow, until we arrived, a distance of six miles, at the village called D'har, inhabited by Kurds. We slept in the house of one of the Kurds, who scarcely gave us any thing to eat, even for money, and certainly would have plundered me, if I had come without the men of the Pasha of Erzroom.

January 1st, 1844. I arrived on this day at Mullah Soleiman, inhabited by Armenians, who two hundred years ago were all converted to the Roman Catholic faith by a Romish missionary, Soleiman by name, from whom the place took its appellation. The priest of the place, a well-informed man, was ordained by Abraham, bishop of Merdeen, whom I knew twenty years ago when at Merdeen, in Mesopotamia. This kind priest expressed his regret at my not having taken up my abode in his own domicile.

January 2nd, I arrived at Kara Klesea, where a church was established, according to tradition, by the preaching of the apostle Thaddeus. The place is called in Armenian, Pakre-Ant.

Jan. 3rd. Arrived at Kolassur, a place colonized by Persians from Erivan, which they left in 1827, in order not to be subjects of the Russian government. The mullah of the place called on me. He knew how to read the *Koran* without understanding it, and he was surprised when I translated to

him some parts of the Koran from the Arabic into Persian. I then spoke with him about the merits of the Gospel.

January 4th, I arrived at Utsh-Kelesea, 'three churches,' a convent, called *Wank* in Armenian, where Gregory the Enlightener converted many thousands of the Parsees and Armenians to the faith in Christ; and there also King Tiridates was converted by St. Gregory, and baptized in the Euphrates, which flows there. This Utsh-Kelesea must not be confounded with Utsh-Kelesea, or Etsh-Miazin, near Erivan.

The superior of Utsh-Kelesea recognised me from my former visit in 1831, when I was sick three days in that convent, and at that time accompanied by a priest, called Simon, to Tabreez. I refreshed myself now again among the pious and exemplary inmates of that convent for a whole day, and then set out, on the 5th of January, for Diadeen, a miserable village entirely inhabited by domiciled Kurds, where I lodged in the house of a very civil, kind-hearted, and hospitable Kurd. One hour after our arrival, two soldiers arrived from Bayazid, on their way to Erzroom, and as the inhabitants of the villages are always obliged to furnish the soldiers gratis with horses to the next station, my Kurdish host ordered one of his men not to suffer the postman who brought me and my people to go away in the morning with his horses, without taking the two soldiers with him back as far as Kara-Klesea, whence I came; and therefore enjoined his servant to have a good look-out during the night, in order that the postman from Kara-Klesea might not be able to take the horses out of the stable in a stealthy manner, which they are accustomed to do. However, sleep overcame the servant at night, and as I was not able to rest that night, I saw the postman coming into the stable and taking away the horses; but not having been aware at the time of the arrangement made by my landlord, took no notice of it. One hour after the departure of the postman the servant awoke, and perceiv-

ing the horses taken away, he exclaimed "Pesevenk!" *i. e.* Ruffian, and gave the alarm, but it was too late. In the morning the two soldiers from Bayazid demanded for awhile to have the horses which were to take me on; but I gained the point, and two very bad horses were given to the soldiers, and I set out for Ghizl-Deesa, a most miserable Kurdish village, where our two cavasses were obliged to beat one of the Kurds with a whip, in order to convince him of the necessity of affording to us a shelter in his house. Scarcely had we entered his house, before clouds covered the sky so rapidly, and snow fell to such a degree, that actually a person could not see his neighbour standing near him: so that, snugly settled in a warm stable, I exclaimed, "Al-hamdoo Lellah Rabb-ul-Alemeen!" (Praise to God the creator of the world,) "that I am already in the house." My Kurdish host observed, "If I had known before that this European says 'Al-hamdoo Lellah Rabb-ul-Alemeen,' I would have taken him in at once." However, one hour after the sky cleared up again, and it ceased to snow, when I heard a voice from the street asking whether an Englishman had arrived; and immediately after a courier (*gholam*) sent from Colonel Sheil, of Teheraun, with despatches for Erzroom, entered the room, and told me that a *mehmoondar** had been sent to Awajick from the Prince of Tabreez, at the request of Mr. Bonham, with an order (*rakum*) to furnish me with horses as far as Tabreez.

January 7th, I arrived at Awajick, where I was very hospitably received by the governor, Khaleefa Kooli Khan. At Awajick I dismissed the two cavasses from the Pasha of Erzroom, and though I was not obliged to pay them one farthing, I gave to them a present of two hundred piastres, and they returned to Erzroom; and I continued my journey with Ismael Beyk, the mehmoondar of the Prince of Tabreez, towards that city.

* From *mehmoon*, a guest, and *dar*, having; a person sent to prepare a lodging for another.

January 8th, we slept in the miserable Persian village called Karaine. January 9th, we arrived at Sohr-Abad. On the 10th at Khoy, a city of calamities,—at one time in the hands of the Sultan, at another under the Persians; frequently destroyed by the hand of man, and also suffering from repeated earthquakes. Here I lodged in the splendid house of my old acquaintance Soleiman Khan, now governor of Khoy, who is a freemason, though a Muhammedan. He treated me at supper with excellent wine. He told me that on my arrival at Teheraun, it would be worth while to make the acquaintance of a renowned derveesh, Mirza Naser Ullah Sadder Almemalek, after I had called on the Haje, the prime-minister of Muhammed Shah; for the latter personage was the enemy of the derveesh, and if I was to call first on the derveesh, the Haje might be offended. In the night time a fire broke out in the same house where I slept, and a considerable part of it was burnt down; but I slept so soundly, from being tired out by the journey and cold, that I knew nothing about it till the morning, when the fire was extinguished, and I was informed of it.

January 11th, I arrived at Tashwish; on the 12th at Tawsaj; and on the 13th at Tabreez, the capital of Aderbijan. Here was fought, in 1490, a battle between Oossun Hassan and his son Ogor-lu I. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Shah Isma-eël founded there his empire, when only fourteen years of age.

The news of Stoddart and Conolly in this place (Tabreez) did not amount to more, however singular it may appear, than mere repetitions of accounts in *Galignani*, and other European newspapers. I found here the *Times*, *Herald*, *Post*, and *Chronicle*, all which papers may be gratified to learn that they circulate in Tabreez. To these may be added the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, the first paper of Germany. I noticed these in the hands of the Russian ambassador and consul.

I was introduced, on January 15th, to the Prince of Tabreez and the chief mullah, who promised to furnish me letters

for Meshed. At this place I received for the first time the communication from Lieutenant Eyre, already given. Here also I received an extremely kind letter from the excellent Colonel Williams, from Erzroom.

I had here also the satisfaction of transmitting to my son an autograph letter from the Sheikh Islam to the Sheikh Islam in Daghestaun, for as I had abandoned that route it became useless. I sent to him also a beautiful golden compass and telescope, given to me by dear Sir Stratford Canning.

On my introduction, as stated above, to his royal highness Bahman Mirza, Prince-governor of Tabreez, he was pleased to receive me most graciously, and his vizier called upon me. I paid, on the 16th, by the especial permission of the prince, a visit to an old acquaintance, Muhammed Khan Kerahe, of Torbad Hydarēa. He is now a prisoner at Tabreez, by order of the king. In the year 1831, as my readers have already seen, I was made a slave of by the people of Torbad Hydarēa, but their khan, by order of Abbas Mirza, set me again free. This fellow had put out the eyes of hundreds of people, and cut off noses, &c.; and sold not less than 60,000 Persians to the people of Bokhara. His own turn, however, came, and as I like to see people in misfortune, not to triumph over them but to console them, I went to pay him a visit. At present, being in prison, he receives company at home, not being allowed to stir out of the domicile assigned him by the king, except with a few honourable attendants, the prince's guards, by way of security. On my seeing him, he immediately recognised me, reminded me of the bastinadoes which he had inflicted on those who made me a slave and took my money; but he prudently omitted to state that he put this latter commodity into his own pocket, and, as orientals have long recollections, and one may meet them in out-place regions, and rather unexpectedly, I omitted to revive any unpleasant reminiscences. By one of those freaks of

physiognomy that occasionally happen, his appearance is remarkably mild, but I should shun that eye if I met it in the desert.

The manner in which he was made prisoner, was as follows. When Abbas Mirza was in Khorassaun, in the year 1831-2, he struck terror into the different chiefs. At last he (Abbas Mirza) sent this khan a *laanat-namah, i. e.* a letter, in which Abbas Mirza wished that all the curses should come upon him (Abbas Mirza) himself, if he did not treat well Muhammed Khan Kerahe, in case that he would immediately come and pay him a visit. Muhammed, whose father, Izhak Khan Kerahe, strange to say, was similarly entrapped by the royal family, believed the assurance of Abbas Mirza, and came to Meshed, riding on the back of a splendid horse. On the road, Yahya Khan, one of the chamberlains of Abbas Mirza, came to meet him, and advised Muhammed Khan to make a present of his horse to Abbas Mirza. Muhammed Khan answered sternly to this proposal of Yahya Khan, "I never shall part from this horse, for which I have given twelve fellows like thee as an exchange." When Muhammed Izhak Khan arrived at Abbas Mirza's, he was given to understand that he was a prisoner. This does not redound to the honour of that great and amiable man, Abbas Mirza. Beneath is a translation of the autograph of this celebrated captive chieftain, which he wrote in my presence:

Translation of the Autograph of Muhammed the son of Izhak Khan Kerahe, &c.

Muhammed, son of Izhak Khan Kerahe, Tatar of the family of Ghengis Khan.

The ancestors of Ghengis Khan were Oolinjah Khan and Olamgoo, a Mogul, who had twins: the name of the one was Mogul Khan, and the other Tatar Khan, from whom all the Tatars descend, as the Moguls do from Mogul Khan. The sons of Ghengis Khan were, 1. Hutshi Khan; 2. Jaktay Khan; 3. Aktaye Khan; 4. Tule Khan.

After the death of Ghengis Khan, the children of Tule Khan became kings. Mikukahan Khan sat upon the throne of Ghengis Khan, who sent his brother, Halaku Khan, into Persia, and resided for awhile at Tabreez, whence he went to Bagdad, and killed Muattesim, the last of the khaleefs of the family of Abbas. The tribe of Kerahe had accompanied Halaku Khan to Tabreez, and after the extinction of the dynasty of Ghengis Khan, the Kerahe emigrated to Turkey; but when Tamerlane became the conqueror of the world, he removed forty thousand families of the Kerahe tribe from Turkey to Samarcand; of which number, however, twelve thousand separated and returned to Khorassaun, whose descendant I am.

Muhammed also told me the story of Ghengis Khan's mother having become pregnant by a beam of the sun, which entered into her mouth. Of Timur, he said his very name was prophetic; for *Timur* means *iron*, and Timur was a man of iron. And here Muhammed Khan Kerahe became quite animated, and said, "I aspired after the honour of becoming another Tamerlane and Ghengis Khan, and my name was already a terror among the khans of Khiva and Bokhara, and ambassadors even were sent to me from the Ghirgese and the Cossacks. I had secret correspondence with Russia, (which latter words he whispered into my ear). But in the midst of this career, a stop was put to it by Allah above. I am now little, and am fallen from my high estate. Allah is great, and man unconscious of his destiny. My name was Muhammed Kale-Kaan, which means Muhammed the Head-tearer."

At this place I arrived at the complete demonstration that the account, on which Government relied, of Saleh Muhammed, was untrue, from a merchant who called on me at the British consulate on the 17th January, and told me that at the time he left Bokhara, twelve months previous, Stoddart and Conolly were both shut up in the fortress. He further stated that he then saw Samut Khan, in whose house Stoddart formerly lodged. Mr. Bonham and myself examined him,

and all he knew was, that both were in prison; and he was told by Samut Khan, that if once a person is imprisoned in the (Ark) castle, no one knows whether he is dead or alive.

I regret to say that the report of the state of this country, at the time of my visit, was most lamentable. The king was reported to be entirely governed by a bigoted, ambitious, and jealous old Haje, so that all the English officers were dismissed his service. He never sent, as Abbas Mirza his father did, any Persian to Europe to be instructed there. Not a medical man was to be seen throughout Persia. The king himself was a victim to the gout, for which his quack physician prescribed brandy. He was victimized, not by hydropathy, but brandypathy. I must, however, confess that the Haje was more kind to me on my arrival at Teheraun, than I had room to expect from this report of his character at Tabreez. He seemed to me to be the Persian Cardinal Wolsey. I learnt also that he had altered his system, and sent young men to France and England to be educated in various arts and professions.

Mr. Bonham, the consul-general, furnished me with the strongest recommendations from all the authorities here, civil, military, and ecclesiastical, for Teheraun and Meshed. Mr. Bonham is a connexion of Sir Robert Peel, having married a niece of Lady Peel. His hospitable dwelling received me the instant I arrived, and nothing could exceed the kindness shown to me by him and his amiable lady. Mr. Bonham was not in possession of any information on the subject of Stoddart and Conolly.

Colonel Sheil was the only person of whom I yet had heard up to this period, who appeared to be convinced of their death, but he had sent no one to ascertain the fact. I was given to understand in this place, that Colonel Sheil was a retired and silent man, doing nothing on his own responsibility; and that report led me to doubt still further the intelligence on which he relied.

On Sunday, the 14th, I preached to the English, and administered the sacrament to them. I also received on that day a visit from the Persian governor of the place, and I have already mentioned my visit to his highness Bahman Mirza; but I omitted to say that Mr. Bonham accompanied me, and that the mehmoondar was sent to me at his suggestion by Prince Bahman Mirza to Awajick, six stations from Tabreez. His royal highness promised also to send again, on Thursday the 18th, a mehmoondar with me as far as Teheraun. He further furnished letters of introduction for Teheraun and Meshed. The Haje also furnished a letter for the prime-minister of the Shah.

In company with Mr. Bonham I also called on the Imaum Jemaat, the high-priest of Tabreez, who gave me letters for Abdul Samut Khan at Bokhara, with whom Stoddart resided. I ascertained that at Ooroomia, six days distant from Tabreez, there were American presbyterian missionaries, who did a great deal of good by instructing the people, and as they do not interfere with the discipline of the Nestorians, they deserve every praise and encouragement.

I am always rejoiced to learn that Episcopalians send out missionaries; but in the mean time, as long as this is not done, the state of the Eastern churches is in such a sad condition, that *modest*, *prudent*, and *zealous* presbyterians might be rendered useful to them, and these very presbyterian missionaries would perceive, from the state of the East, that Episcopacy is a primitive condition of the church, and Congregationalism an anomaly. And thus, while it cannot be denied that they enlighten the East, it will also follow that they take back with them to their own homes a portion of its light, to the benefit of the country from which they were sent forth. Archbishop Magee once told me, that he would like to make the Wesleyans auxiliaries to the church; and thus the Church of England might make the Presbyterians auxiliaries in spreading the Gospel through the East. Dr. Grant, Messrs. Perkins, Mer-

rick, and Stoddard, are very worthy men on this mission. From this place I addressed the following note to the Committee of the Stoddart and Conolly Fund:

Tabreez, 19th Jan., 1844:
Gentlemen, the day of my departure for Teheraun.

Through the kindness and indefatigable exertions of Mr. Bonham, her Britannic Majesty's consul-general in Persia, I leave here to-day for Teheraun, accompanied by a mehmoondar from his royal highness Prince Bahman Mirza, and furnished with the following letters of introduction:

1. From his royal highness Bahman Mirza, for Mirza Ali Nakee Khan, at Teheraun; and for the Assaff-ood-Dowla, governor of Meshed, and the king's uncle.

2. From Mirza Lutf Ali, the Imaum Jumaa (chief mullah) at Tabreez, for the Haje, prime-minister of the king, at Teheraun; for Mirza Askere, chief mullah at Meshed; Haje Ibrahim, brother of Samut Khan, at Meshed; for Samut Khan, chief of the artillery, at Bokhara.

3. From Mullah Muhammed, Mujtehed at Tabreez, for Haje Mirza Moosa Khan, chief of the mosque at Meshed.

4. From Agalar Khan, brother to Manujar Khan, for his Excellency the Assaff-ood-Dowla, governor of Meshed; and for Haje Mirza Mousa Khan, at Meshed.

5. From the Sheikh al-Islam, for the Assaff-ood-Dowla, at Meshed; and the chief priest of Bokhara.

6. From Haje Seyd Hussein, for Haje Ibrahim, at Meshed; and Samut Khan, at Bokhara.

You would therefore do well to write letters of thanks to the following personages:

1. To their Excellencies the Governor and Admiral at Malta.

2. To Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., her Britannic Majesty's ambassador in Greece, requesting him also to convey your thanks to their Majesties the King and Queen of Greece; to Sir James Stirling, R.N.; Captain Ommaney, of the *Vesuvius;* to the Revds. H. D. Leeves, Hill, and Jonas King, in Athens.

3. To his Excellency Sir Stratford, and also Lady Canning.

4. To Lord Napier, at Constantinople.

5. To their Excellencies the Count Stürmer, Austrian internuncio at Constantinople, and Countess de Stürmer.

6. To Monsieur Titow, Russian ambassador at Constantinople.

7. To F. Stephens, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's vice-consul at Trebizond.

8. To Signor Ghersi, Russian consul at Trebizond; for both Stephens, Ghersi, and a few others, subscribed 40*l.* you know.

9. To James Brant, consul, Colonel Williams, and Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, at Erzroom.

10. To the Pasha of Erzroom, who paid all the expenses of my journey as far as Awajick, the frontier of Persia.

11. A letter of thanks to E. W. Bonham, Esq., her Britannic Majesty's consul-general, and his lady, for the kind hospitality they afforded to me, and the encouragement they gave, and the interest they took in my present object.

Yours, affectionately,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

Why is Mr. Bonham not made ambassador? He is so much respected in Persia. He arrived here in 1832, and knows the country and language well.

Among many signs of the times that clearly indicate the diminishing power of the fanaticism of the Muhammedans, the following is not among the least. On the 19th January, the Armenians celebrated their *Khatshauran*, *i.e.* the washing of the Cross, in which they employed Muhammedan soldiers to fire salutes. This is a wonderful alteration of the Osmanlees. By the way, on that occasion, in which Armenians, Georgians, and Greeks united in the festivity, my Persian servant Michael became so drunk as to be incapable of doing any thing; and when I reproved him for it, after he got sober, he coolly replied, "What should one do else on such a grand day!"

Many Armenians, also, who had become Muhammedans, have openly returned to the Christian faith. I must here note further, with respect to the Armenian church, that it is well known that the Emperor Nicholas attempts at present to unite the Armenian church with the Russian: a great division therefore has taken place among the Armenians. Some of them say it is right, for in former times, in the year 1179, Emanuel Comnenus made the attempt. Others of the Arme-

nians say that the Czar has no right to interfere with their church. Those who are in favour, refer to the speech of Saint Nierses of Lampron. In order to understand these remarks, I give the following sketch of the life of this extraordinary man.

St. Nierses of Lampron, son of Ossinio, an Armenian nobleman, patron of the Castel of Lampron, Prince of Sebaste, was born in the year 1153. He received his early education in the celebrated monasteries of Armenia, and then was taken under the direction of the great Nierses Shnorhale or Ghlayazee, who ordained him priest and gave him his own name, for his former name was Sembate. After the death of Nierses Ghlayazee, Gregory IV., at the request of the nation, consecrated him archbishop of Tarsus and Lampron. Nierses of Lampron governed the church with zeal, and kindled throughout Armenia the fire of Divine love, and reformed the church by his preaching and writings; for he combined in his own person divine and profane sciences in a high degree, so that he was styled the Master of Armenian eloquence. He was also acquainted with foreign languages. He has published the following writings:

1. An Exposition of the Armenian Liturgy.
2. A Practical Commentary of the Psalms of David.
3. A Commentary on the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Book of Wisdom, and also the twelve Minor Prophets; and their literal as well as their allegorical sense.
4. Many Homilies upon the Dominical Festivals, and several admonitory Discourses.
5. Several Letters, written with Apostolical zeal, to various illustrious Persons.
6. The Life of Saint Nierses Gheliensis, rendered in elegant verse.
7. Seven most beautiful Hymns: the first on Easter, the second on Whit-Sunday, the third on the Ascension, and the fourth on the Festival of the sons and nephews of St. Gregory the Illuminator.

He also translated several works from different languages into Armenian, among which *The Explanation of the Apo-*

calypse of St. John, written by Andrea, archbishop of Cæsarea; *The Rules of the Order of St. Benedict;* and *The Life and Dialogues of St. Gregory the Great*, are highly esteemed.

The distinguished prelate had nothing more at heart than the preservation of charity, and unity in the church; he was therefore called, by other nations, a second Paul of Tarsus. The above-mentioned patriarch Gregory, encouraged by the Emperor Emanuel Comnenus, intended to re-establish harmony between the two churches, the Greek and Armenian, divided for a long time from each other on account of differences in the doctrine and discipline of the church. A council was already commenced under his predecessor, and was only interrupted by his death. A preliminary discourse was necessary for the proposed union. Nierses was selected to write it. He recited this speech in the council assembled in 1179, in the patriarchal castle of Roomkalah, in Cilicia. We may trace in this curious paper that the unity of the church was believed by the Armenian Fathers to have been typified in the architecture of the temple.

"Most holy fathers and teachers of the truth! heads and pastors of the people of Christ! overseers and dispensers of the house of God! what do I now behold? One harmonious body, fit to be united to that great Head who rules us all! Who has brought you to this tranquil haven? Ye messengers of peace to the Universe, was not the Holy Spirit for our peace sent down from heaven? And to what end, if not to relay the foundation of that ruined building, which the first Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, cast down to the ground? That Nebuchadnezzar who in ancient time took away the sacred and undefiled vessels of gold and silver consecrated to the use of the sanctuary, and gave them to his children and to his concubines, for the use of their unholy banquets. We also, O children of Sion! were captives here, having the harps of our God suspended to the branches of sterile willows, and shedding torrents of tears, sighed,—borne down with the weight of cruel grief. Then did our tongues also cease from giving praise to God; then we asked, 'How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?'

"But now the wrath of Heaven is appeased, and the measure of the sin, for which we became wanderers on earth, is full. The seventy years are now passed, of which God spake by the mouth of Jeremiah the prophet. They had been foretold through Divine inspiration by Haggai and Zachariah, and propitious tidings they gave us of our return and of liberty. The glory of the latter temple, of which you are to be the restorers, these prophets predicted should be greater than that of the former. This new Joshua,* son of Jozedek, on whose head is placed the superb crown, and Zorobabel,† the son of Salathiel, whom the Spirit of God raised up,—these are they who recall you from slavery, and are become our leaders towards the heavenly Jerusalem.

"Already I perceive your countenances are more serene, for already are our feet arrived at the gates of Sion; but if our joy be not yet accomplished, it is because the house of our God is still in ruins upon the ground. How can we have perfect gladness of heart, while for the magnificent ornaments of the temple we find substituted the devouring fire-brands of Nebuzar-aden?

"Yet let not your spirit forsake you, O wise builders! Take courage, and begin the restoration of the house of your God. He has brought you here, and He commands you by the mouth of his holy prophets to gird up your loins to the accomplishment of so noble an enterprise. Behold, how Zachariah comes in the name of God, and speaks to you.

"Tell us, O blessed Prophet! is it possible for us to rebuild the temple, and bring it back to its ancient splendour, seeing we are so few, and so lately delivered from bondage?

"The Prophet replies, 'Thus saith the Lord God Omnipotent, Your hands shall be made strong, the hands of all of you who hear these words from my mouth; and as you were a curse to the nations, O house of Judah and house of Israel, so will I save you, and you shall be a blessing. Be courageous, and your hands shall be strengthened, for thus saith the Lord of Hosts, In like manner as I thought to punish you when your fathers provoked me to wrath, so again have I thought in these days to do well unto Jerusalem, and to the whole house of Judah. Be ye comforted. These are the things that ye shall do: Speak ye every man the truth to his neighbour; execute the judgment of truth and of

* Gregory the patriarch, by whose orders they were assembled.

† Emanuel Comnenus.

peace in your gates; let none of you imagine evil in your hearts against his neighbour, and love no false oath; for all these things do I hate, saith the Lord Omnipotent. But rather encourage one another in the work, ascend the mountain, cut down trees with which to rebuild my house, and I shall have pleasure in it; and in this manner I shall be glorified, saith the Lord.'

"Behold, you have all heard the voice of the Lord our God,—that voice which brought you here from the four winds of the earth; daughters of Sion, who were nursed in the confusion of Babylon, and amidst the tumult of Calneh,—you, who instantly arose at the call of the patriarch,—and you, as many as there be of the people, gird yourselves, and hasten to build the house of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"That this be done well, take counsel of Ezra, that Doctor of the Law. Let us expel from the building all those that are born children of the Chaldeans. Let us enter into the desire of happiness in which our ancestors so ardently indulged, that God be not displeased with us, seeing that we also turn aside from His holy law. Thus in the magnificent undertaking of building the holy Temple of God, the children of strangers will not be a stumbling-block to us; so shall we be enabled boldly to lay our hands to the edifice. The protection of the Omnipotent God in the renovation of his House will be prompt and effectual. But I fear some will reproach me with the introduction of this example of the Old Testament, as though the just limits marked out for the subject of this discourse had been exceeded. Let it not be so, for we know that of old Saint Paul said, 'All these things happened unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our admonition.' If we believe that we are saved by the blood of the true Lamb from the invisible Pharaoh, as the Jews were from the visible one; if we pass through the sea of Sin as they passed through the Red Sea; if we have as a guide the spiritual rock, like as they had the material one; and if we enter, through Jesus Christ, into heaven, as those who, following Joshua the son of Nun, entered into the land of promise,—all these things come to us through the eye of love and faith, as in reality they actually happened to the Jews; for all the holy books clearly demonstrate that the law was a shadow of good things to come. Among us also the temple has been erected to our God, like as it was erected among them; and whilst we were sojourners in the desert, we carried about with us the tabernacle of the testimony.

"But I will no longer go on in allegory; I will explain myself more clearly. By command of Christ, whilst we were so wandering in the desert of persecution amongst heathens, the holy Apostles planted for us the tabernacle of the testimony of pure faith. As Saint Paul says, 'I have laid the foundation, Jesus Christ; and let every man take heed how he buildeth thereon, for you are the true temple of the living God, and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. Christ ruleth over his own house, which house are we, and of this house Christ is the high priest.'

"This house of faith, which the Apostles built upon Christ, and Christ upon them, ('upon this rock,' says He, 'will I build my church,') our fathers led about with us for a long period through the desert of Pagan persecution with much splendour and honour. Within this spiritual house of faith, in which was the table signed by the hand of God, that is to say, the body of Christ and his rod that blossomed, illustrious champions were offered up in sacrifice, yielding up life under the most cruel torments, while the holy priests offered up to God their bright virtues as the incense with which God was well pleased; and even as they were led by Him to their land of promise, so has He guided us also to the peace of the Church under the most pious kings.*

"As the great Solomon planted the Temple of the Covenant, and erected to God a house of stone, so Constantine firmly established, with the aid of the general Council of Nice, the house of the faith of Christ, agitated and harassed as it was on every side; and, so to speak, reforming that in the desert which was counteracted during the persecution of our pilgrimage, he rendered it illustrious, and restored it to its primitive beauty.

"Thus our true and spiritual Temple was raised under the reign of Constantine, with the co-operation of three hundred and eighteen most holy Fathers, like as the material Temple of the Jews was raised under the care of the reigning Solomon. The shadow ceased and the reality was substituted, exhibiting itself in the same form and beauty.

"The tabernacle of the Testament of the grace of Jesus Christ, which the Apostles planted and their successors carried abroad, had also its solid foundation whilst they reigned, according to the decisions and laws of the holy Council of Nice.

* Abgar, Constantine, Tiridates, Theodosius the Great.

"In the Temple of old, the throne of God was erected. The altar of expiation was made of gold, which Moses commanded, and Bezaleel constructed; but the meekness, humility, and love which Christ commanded, and his Apostles practised, were left to us as our depository. He rested on this throne, who once had not where to lay his head; and was pleased rather to dwell there, than on the chariot of the cherubim."

The discourse was so well received, that the union would have been established if Comnenus had not died. His successor, Alexis II., was of different sentiments, on which account the union did not take place. The archbishop of Tarsus lived nineteen years after this council, and then died on the 14th of July, 1198.

I met here, on January the 16th, Jaafr Khan, who was brought up in England, and afterwards employed by Abbas Mirza, in Meshed, where I knew him. He dined with me at Mr. Bonham's. He is a very intelligent Persian. It would be well if there were many such among them; but, alas! they are few. I must confess, that in general those natives who are brought up in England, or have visited it, are frequently not of the right sort, and turn out badly. Every one of them who comes to England is immediately treated as a prince or princess,—honours which they do not appear at all reluctant to assume. Thus, for example, "The Babylonian Princess," when no Babylonian princess exists; "Princess of Cashmeer,"—"Nobles of Libanon," &c. After a while, these persons return to their country discontented and perfectly useless. Since October 14th, I found I had travelled the following distances:

	Miles.
From Southampton to Gibraltar	1300
„ Gibraltar to Malta	1000
„ Malta to Constantinople	800
„ Constantinople to Trebizond . . .	480
„ Trebizond to Erzroom	180
„ Erzroom to Tabreez	348
	4108

I have mentioned certain signs of the decay of Muhammedanism; I will adduce another. On the 18th January I called with Mr. Bonham on Mirza Hashem, one of the family of Muhammed, a man of immense wealth, who said to me, "You should converse about religion with the chief mullah at Kerbelay. If you convert him, all the Muhammedans will follow his example."—"But," said I, "you put to death a Muhammedan who should venture to embrace the Christian religion."—"This was formerly the custom," he replied; "but now a Muhammedan, who would become a Christian, merely needs to take an English passport and declare himself to be a British subject, and he is safe."

January the 20th. On this day, my mehmoondar made his appearance at the door of the British consulate-general at Tabreez. Mr. Bonham and Mr. Burgess accompanied me on my journey seven miles. On the road, after their departure, I observed, to my great grief, that Michael, my servant, was so drunk, that he was not able to hold himself on his horse. I ordered him to dismount and give me back my money, for I had given it to him to keep. He delivered up the money, but in his drunken fit struck me, and left me on the open road. As Messrs. Bonham and Burgess had already returned to Tabreez when that fellow left me, I was afraid that he might either die in the snow, for he had laid down and slept, or be carried away as a slave, or be stript of every thing; I therefore sent back the keeper of the post-horses to give notice to Mr. Bonham, who sent one of his men, and he brought him by force to Tabreez. I had afterwards to send his portmanteau after him to Tabreez. I know not what became of him, whether he returned to Constantinople where he was hired, or what else befell him. I continued my journey, and arrived on that same day at Seydabad.

January 21st. We arrived in the hilly village called Tekmetash. It was tremendously cold, and scarcely had we

reached the post-house (*manzeleh*), when the clouds covered the sky, the horizon was darkened, and a tremendous rising of the snow and sand from the ground in enormous masses took place. No one dared stir from the house. The Persians call this kind of storm *kūlagh*. I never as yet in my extensive travels had seen any thing like it. Such kind of *kūlaghs* kill in an instant the horse and the rider, especially when accompanied with a blast, like death itself in chillness. We were obliged to stay in that miserable place, more exposed to the so-called *kūlagh* than any other part of Persia, two days.

The day I left Tabreez on my way to Teheraun, I met with a learned derveesh in the place in which I had taken up my abode after my servant had left me. On my entering with him into a religious conversation, he broke forth into the exclamation, "You are another Tata Sultan and Kemaalee Howdbeen!" I asked, "Who were these two persons?"

Derveesh. The disciples of Buddr-Udeen Seemawn-Ogloo, who, in the Hejrah 835, traversed the country of Room (Turkish empire), taught that all the property of men ought to be used in common—houses, arms, and clothing,—women excepted. Tata Sultan, whose name also was Beerekledje Mustapha, was a great friend of the Christians, and with one of them he spent much time in holy meditation about God in the island of Sakez, (*i. e.* Scio). Tata Sultan destroyed the army of the Sultan of Room, Muhammed. At last Bayazeed Pasha made Beerekledje Mustapha prisoner, and murdered him, as it was believed, unmercifully, with all his disciples; but Beerekledje Mustapha is still alive, and a friend of Christians; and you will, in unison with him, upset the empire of Room and Persia. I heard of you at Delhi, where you have conversed with Akbar Shah, the king of Delhi, and the Mowlevees there; and I have heard of you at Cashmeer. You have been a Jew, and all great events proceeded from the followers of Moses, and will proceed again until Eesa (Jesus)

will again make his appearance. When these events shall take place, and you shall see yourself surrounded by your followers, then remember the derveesh of Geelan. Abd-ool Wahab has not succeeded in reforming the world, but you will."

The other Persians sat around us, listening with attention to the words of the derveesh of Geelan, and then began to converse about the bravery of the late Wuzeer Mukhtar, *i.e.* Sir John Mc Neill; of his defying the king of Persia; and of his preventing the Shah from taking Heraut. Since the time that Sir John Mc Neill has left Persia, the Persians talk more of him than of Sir John Malcolm. The Persians have a great deal of perspicacity, and characterize the British ambassadors there in the following manner:

1. Sir John Malcolm, the Munificent.
2. Sir Gore Ouseley, the Scholar.
3. Sir Henry Willock, the good and kind-hearted Man.
4. Sir John Campbell, the determined and liberal Wuzeer Mukhtar.
5. Sir John Mc Neill, the shrewd, brave, handsome man, and the best Persian scholar who ever appeared in Persia, and one who at the same time was liberal.
6. Colonel Sheil, a man who loves retirement. But they give him credit for firmness.

The tone of Persians and Turks has also changed with regard to their estimate of the British and Russian powers. About twenty-four years ago the Turks spoke of England as a power inferior to that of the Sultan, and the Persians spoke of the Russians as men who never would be able to take Erivaun; but now, these Muhammedan countries have at last been compelled to acknowledge the superiority of both, Russia as well as England; and it is come so far, that both the Turks as well as the Persians acknowledge that they cannot go to war with each other, "for Russia and England will not allow it." Instead of saying, as formerly, "No power can take Stambool," the Turks as well as the Persians frequently

asked me, "When will the English come and take this country?"

January 23rd. We continued our journey towards Turkman-Jaa.* A cold air prevailed, which penetrated my large boots, given to me by Colonel Williams, under which I had two pair of stockings. Suddenly I perceived an awful rising of the sand, so that I was forced to rub my eyes and shut my mouth. It soon increased terribly, with the snow falling from the mountain peaks; and at this juncture my mehmoondar called out "*Kūlagh!*" but, most fortunately, after ten minutes the *kūlagh* ceased, the air grew warmer, and the snow fell gently in flakes from heaven. Had the *kūlagh* lasted longer, I should have been hurled down a precipice, from which I was about twelve yards distant, but had not observed it. We rode on after this at full gallop, and arrived safely at Turkman-Jaa, where we stopped the night.

January 24th. On this day we reached the large market-town called Miana, where I obtained a decent room, and called on the mullah of the place, with whom I had a long conversation on the coming of Christ in glory and majesty. The mullah Miana was a great admirer of *Masnawee Roomee*, an extraordinary book, and which much resembles the writings of Jacob Böhme. It is held in the same veneration by the Sooffees of Persia, as Jacob Böhme is by the Mystics of Germany. It was originally composed in Persian, but was translated into Turkish by Sheikh Ismael Moulewee, who added to it a seventh volume.

January 26th, we arrived in the city called Sanjoon. Here I met with Mirza Baker, the commander of the troops, who lodged for the space of two months with me in the house of Mirza Baba at Meshed in 1831. We talked over occurrences of former days.

* It is so named from *Turkman*, and *Jaa* 'a place;' for the Türkomauns had extended their plundering incursions to that place, and received there a great defeat.

January 28th I arrived at Khoramtarah, where I had the pleasure of meeting with the Rev. Mr. Stocking, an American Congregationalist missionary, stationary at Ooroomiah with the Right Reverend Bishop Gabriel, Metropolitan of the Chaldean Christians of that place; but beside him there is another bishop at Ooroomiah, Mar Yohannan, the same who was in America. As Mr. Stocking and the said bishop had arrived before me at Khoramtarah, they had taken up their lodging in another house; but at my request they became my guests.

There cannot be entertained any reasonable doubt of the truth of the general tradition of the Chaldeans, of their being the descendants of the children of Israel, for they call themselves *Beni Israel* (children of Israel): their language is Hebrew; they have sacrifices called *Doghran Shlama* in the feast of Transfiguration, consisting of a sheep, lamb, or goat; they have in their churches the Holy of Holies; they have a *veil* like the Jews; the bishops are of the tribe of Levi; the Yeseede are of the tribe of Judah, but the latter have apostatized; they have a river called Gozan; the Jews of Chaldea call them their nephews; they have a horror of images, &c.; they have seven sacraments (*Raase*), and these are their names, by which you will observe that they are entirely different, at least the greater part, from those of the sacraments of the Roman Catholics. They are as follow:

1. Blessing of the priest, or Ordination.
2. Consecration of the church.
3. Baptism.
4. Lord's Supper.
5. The Blessing of the old leaven.
6 Matrimony.
7. Service of the Dead.

Saint Thomas the Apostle came into Mesopotamia, where they lived in captivity, and he preached to them the Gospel when they lived near Mosul, in a place called Halah and

Habor, near the river Gozan; so that the Jews of Bokhara seem to have given, after this, to Bokhara and Samarcand the name of their original settlements in Mesopotamia. Their patriarchs resided first in Eelat Khoki; after that at Marava, three days' journey from Tabreez; and then at Alkush, mentioned in Nahum i. 1; and after Tamerlane's invasion they retired to Cochanes in the mountains. Some years ago, when I was first curate at High Hoyland, the Bishop of London sent to me a letter, purporting to have been written by the Patriarch of the Chaldeans, produced by some pretended Chaldeans. I wrote at once to the Bishop of London that they were impostors; and Bishop Gabriel and Mar Yohannan assured me that I was not mistaken in my suspicion, and that the letter which they produced from the Patriarch was a forged one.

January 29th. Stocking and Mar Gabriel continued their journey towards Ooroomiah, and I towards Teheraun, and arrived on the 30th at Siyadehen, where I had an excellent well-furnished room in the house of the Ked-Khoda, the chief of the village, Baba Abbas by name.

January 31st, I arrived at Kasween, which was formerly the capital of the Persian kings; and it was also once entirely governed by a rebellious set of derveeshes called *Lootee*, or '*the Fools*.' From Kasween I got such bad horses, that on my arrival at Sephir Khoja, fourteen farsangs or fifty-six miles from Teheraun, I was obliged to write to Colonel Sheil, petitioning him to send five horses to my assistance. I however continued very slowly my journey.

The horses sent most kindly by Colonel Sheil (his own horse for myself) arrived with a friendly letter from him, inviting me to take a room in the British embassy.

CHAPTER VII.

Arrival at Teheraun. Interview with Colonel Sheil. Interview with Meshedee Rajab, Colonel Stoddart's Servant. Bokhara Eljee. Account of Latif. Barenstein. Preaches before the Embassy. Interview with Mar Yohannan, the Chaldean Bishop—his opinion of Ephrem Syrus. Audience with the Shah. Letter of the Shah to the Ameer of Bokhara. Interview with the Vizier of the Shah. Ambassador of Bokhara tells Dr. Wolff that Stoddart and Conolly are alive—no certainty at Teheraun as to their Death—Ambassador of Khiva. Dilatory Conduct of Colonel Sheil. Borowsky, the Jew. Most distinguished Generals in the East, Jews. Sefaweya Dynasty. Departure from Teheraun. Colonel Sheil undecided in Opinion on the Death of the Envoys—Evidence of Jacoob. Dr. Wolff visits Palasht—Darey Khar—Deh-Namak—Surkhak. Enters Khorassaun. Interview with Prince Seif Ullah Mirza at Semnan. Route through Aghwan—Khosha—Damghan (reported to be the oldest City in the World)—Deh-Mullah Sharoot—Miyamey—Miyandasht—Meher—Khosroejerd. Sebzawar—Tower of human Skulls built by Tamerlane at this place. *Route continued;* Safran—Germ-Ab. Letter received by Dr. Wolff from the Persian Viceroy of Khorassaun. The Assaff-ood-Dowla. *Route continued;* Nishapoor—Report here of Stoddart and Conolly being alive. *Route continued;* interview with Tamas Beyk—Kadamgah—Shereef-Abad—Askerea—meets here with Mullah Mehdee—Saleh Muhammed, the Akhund-Zadeh. Muhammed Ali Serraf, the agent of Colonel Stoddart—suspicious Conduct of this Agent.

1844. FEBRUARY 3rd. I arrived at Teheraun this day about twelve o'clock. Colonel Sheil at once assured me that he would give me every assistance in his power, in order to reach Bokhara in safety. He (Colonel Sheil) had also detained in his house Meshedee Rajab, from Heraut, who for three years was servant to Colonel Stoddart, by whom he was sent to Cabūl. He had suffered imprisonment at Bokhara, and I took him into my service to accompany me to that city. Stoddart and Conolly owed him one hundred and eighty tomauns, which were paid to him by Colonel Sheil.

Colonel Sheil told me that he had seen the Eljee (ambassador) from Bokhara, who told him that he did not believe that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were killed, but kept in prison; but the Russian ambassador told me that the Eljee from Bokhara had told him that they were killed. I asked Rajab, my servant, what his impression was: he told me it was not certain that they were killed, for there had been people at Bokhara detained frequently for five years in prison, and believed by all the inhabitants to have been killed, and then suddenly had made their appearance again. So much is certain, that no one at Bokhara, of whom I can get intelligence, has witnessed the execution either of Conolly or Stoddart; and at least in this point the account of the Akhūnd-Zadeh, with regard to the execution of both gentlemen in the presence of many people, I found was not exact: and my determination, therefore, of going straight to Bokhara was unshaken and unabated. *Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott,*— "My castle strong the Lord he is."

I must confess that I attached no importance to the account of Latif, who appeared at Hyderabad with the story of having had letters from Stoddart, which had been taken from him, and that he was alive; nor to the totally opposite account of the Jew Barenstein at Lahore, pretending to have witnessed the execution of both, with four others.

I did not believe Latif's account; for, 1st. it seemed improbable that they should take the letters from him, and suffer him to proceed on to India; 2nd. I always found that people flying off in their story on a subject of the highest importance to a trivial matter, try by that to avoid a strict *investigation* on the graver question. Thus, for instance, when I had the intention of going to Timboktoo in the year 1836, a Maltese was sent to me, who pretended to have been at Timboktoo: on my examining him, he diverged in his answers as fast as he could from the main point, and began to talk about Rome. I suspected him at once; and after this I heard by

Mr. Dixon, the Swedish consul of Tripoli, that the above Maltese had never come further than Tripoli. Thus Latif was examined by the authorities at Hyderabad, and he flew off and talked about Yar Muhammed Khan at Heraut, and the regret of the people of Candahar; and besides this, Rajab, who knew Latif, told me that he was a notorious liar.

Nor did I believe Barenstein's account, for it was entirely in contradiction with Saleh Muhammed's statement, and every one who knows the timid disposition of the Jews of Bokhara, will know at once that they would have prevented Barenstein from witnessing such a horrid act; and, as I have already said, thus much was certain, that nobody had witnessed their execution, and even the ambassador of Bokhara expressed only to the Russian ambassador his *belief* that they had been killed. In short, *nobody knew*, and therefore further sifting was necessary. Another fact struck me: according to Saleh Muhammed's account, the Ameer was induced to kill them, because people from Affghanistaun demanded their death; and the Russian ambassador told me that the Bokhara Eljee told him, that the Ameer had proceeded against Stoddart for having despised his warning, and continued his correspondence with his countrymen in India, and Conolly for having gone to Khokand. I myself did not wish to go to the Eljee of Bokhara until I had seen the Shah and his prime-minister, and Colonel Sheil promised to procure me an interview with both. To Bokhara—to Bokhara! was my firm resolve; and even if the Ameer should tell me that they were dead, I was determined to demand their bodies, and put them in camphor, and carry them with me to Constantinople, and thence to London: at all events, I determined to see their bodies.

The king of Persia wrote a letter to his relation at Meshed, commanding him to send on with me a mehmoondar to Merwe, which belongs now to the king of Bokhara; and the prime-minister wrote a letter to Mirza Askere, the chief-priest at Meshed, requesting him to give me strong letters to his influential friends at Bokhara.

His Excellency Count de Medem promised me a letter of recommendation in Russian, and I requested him also to have my doctor's diplomas and ordination-papers translated into Russian, for they have Russian interpreters at Bokhara.

His Excellency, agreeably to his promise, forwarded me the following letter to the Ameer of Bokhara:

January 30, 1844.

Doctor Joseph Wolff, a Christian priest, of great celebrity in Europe, and well known there for his extreme piety, has now determined on a journey to Bokhara, with the intention of obtaining of your Majesty the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, his personal friends, in order to conduct them to Europe, by the route of Meshed and Constantinople, or rather by Orenburg and St. Petersburgh, according to circumstances.

Dr. Wolff has determined on this voyage in full reliance on the Most High, and the wishes of all the European nations, who consider him as a derveesh exclusively occupied with religious and scientific meditations, and completely indifferent to worldly affairs, accompany him in his enterprise.

Persuaded that the recommendation of the Minister of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia in Persia will contribute to obtain for him a favourable and gracious reception on the part of your Majesty, I take the liberty of strengthening him by this note.

The object of Dr. Wolff is also to deliver many other Europeans retained in slavery in Asia, and among this number is a Cavalière Naselli, who two years since went from Teheraun to Bokhara, and to whom I trust your Majesty will not deny permission to return to his country, if he manifests any desire to do so.

I preached and read prayers in my room in the British embassy, when Count de Medem and all the interpreters and Russian attachés, and also the Russian consul-general, besides the English Protestants, attended. I preached on Psalm ii. 8.

There are here also two interesting gentlemen attached to the British embassy,—Mr. W. Taylour Thomson, from Scotland, who had accompanied Colonel Chesney in his Euphrates expedition, and has also visited Khiva; and Mr. Glen, son to the celebrated missionary Glen, of Astrachan. He (Mr. Glen)

is a young gentleman of very considerable acquirements, and is well acquainted with the oriental languages. Colonel Sheil himself is a great Persian and Turkish scholar. I also met again here with my old friends Mr. and Mrs. Reed; the former copied my journal in the year 1831, when on my way to Bokhara, and bestowed the same favour again on me now.

From this moment I began to draw money on the Drummonds in good earnest; for I had to appear respectably at Bokhara as the *great mullah* from England, as described by the Sultan and the Sheikh Islam, and others. But as the mullahs among the Muhammedans live with great simplicity, I determined to do the same. I also determined not to neglect to search for the other officers at and around Bokhara, and every sepoy I might pick up.

I met here, February 5th, Mirza Abool Hassan Khan, minister for foreign affairs; he remembered Lady Catherine Long. Certainly Teheraun is an agreeable place: a little burst of the sun of civilization on me, after what I had passed and what I knew I was going to, was quite charming. I shall miss its sweet society, I thought, much in the deserts of Tūrkistaun. Colonel Sheil's notion of keeping the ambassador of Bokhara as a hostage for my return, I thought very good. I was received by him on this occasion, whatever notions I might entertain of his conduct on my return to Teheraun, with unaffected kindness and hospitality, and with great cordiality also by Messrs. Thomson and Glen, the attachés; and I wish this to be understood of all our diplomatic agents in Teheraun, in the fullest sense that the words *unaffected kindness and hospitality* can convey.

Mar Yohannan, the Chaldean bishop from Ooroomia, mentioned above, was here when I arrived. From conversations with him I am still further confirmed in my notion that the Chaldeans are, as they themselves say, the children of Israel. Mar Yohannan was a great admirer of Ephrem Syrus, and no wonder; for the eloquence of that Father of the church is astonishing. I well remember the sensation which

was produced in the Syrian church at Mosul, when the Syrian archbishop Elias translated from Ephrem Syrus' writings into Arabic the following words of that great Father.—Ephrem Syrus commented on Matt. xxv. 31, 32: "When the Son of man shall come in his glory," etc. "Behold the King of kings upon the throne of his glory, and the human race gathered together before Him! At the mere description of this truth, it is to me as if I was fainting away,—the bones within me are shaken,—tears fill my eye,—I am deprived of my voice,—my lips tremble,—my tongue stammers,—my thoughts are confused! Any thunder-storm frightens us: how much less shall we be able to bear the sound of the trumpet which shall awake the dead! (The bones of all the human race shall rise, who sleep in the bosom of the earth). At the sound of this trumpet they shall be gathered together, and brought to life again: then the trembling earth and the sea shall give back the dead. Behold the earth in flames! the righteous at the right, and the unrighteous placed at the left by the angels! Hear the hymns and hallelujahs of the angels! Behold, the heavens are open,—behold the Lord of glory! behold the terrible book opened!" The bishop was interrupted by the tears and sobbings of the congregation.

February 7th, 1844. On this day I had an audience of the Shah. Colonel Sheil was kind enough to introduce me to his Majesty.

His Majesty sent, previously to our going to him, the nephew of his Excellency Mirza Abool Hassan Khan, minister for foreign affairs, who called, and said that it was his Majesty's wish to see me: Colonel Sheil and Mr. Thomson accompanied me. I had put on my canonicals, and my Doctor's hood over them. His Majesty was sitting upon a divaun, about eight feet from the place where we took our position. As only ambassadors are allowed to sit down, Colonel Sheil, myself, and Mr. Thomson were standing. The moment we had made our bows, his Majesty at once said that

he was rejoiced to see me again, and, to my greatest surprise, reminded me of all the minutiæ of our conversation at Meshed, of Lady Georgiana being the sister to the Earl of Orford; of her having been at Malta during my peregrinations; that I was made prisoner by Muhammed Khan Kerahe; that I had only one son, &c. His Majesty then informed me that he had written several letters, and one for the king of Bokhara himself; and his Majesty admired my philanthropy, and told me if Stoddart and Conolly were dead, I might make them alive by my prayers! Once actually I forgot myself, and interrupted his Majesty whilst he was talking, when Colonel Sheil gave me a push; but his Majesty wished me to say what I wanted to say, and then continued the assurances of his protection and countenance. We made our bow, after having been one hour with his Majesty, and then retired: we experienced on the whole a most gracious reception.

I here give a literal translation of the letter of the Shah to the Ameer of Bokhara.

(TRANSLATION.)

The Enlightener of the dawn of Sovereignty and Dominion, the Personage worthy to occupy the throne of power and government, the Exalted Star in the heaven of splendour and greatness, the Illustrious Sun in the firmament of magnificence and felicity, the best of the Rulers of illustrious rank, the Most Excellent of the Sovereigns illustrious for their generous deeds, the Chosen of the pillars of the governments of Islam, the Assister in the path of the religion of Mustapha, Ameer Nusr Oollah: May your greatness and splendour not perish! May the glory of splendour, sovereignty, and dominion be with you!

We make known to your friendly mind, that amity and cordiality among those who believe in the unity of God, and are of pure minds and dispositions, and who secretly and publicly coincide with each other in opinion, and whose native countries and dominions are in close neighbourhood, are required, and it is therefore expedient, that the chain of correspondence should never at any time be broken, or that the bonds of friendship should be snapped asunder between the two parties of Islam.

Now as the High in rank, the Possessor of genius and understanding, the Endowed with sagacity and judgment, the Prop of the learned among the followers of Messiah, the Chief among the wise people of Christendom, the English Padré Wolff, has the intention of proceeding in that direction, urged by the sincere friendship which exists between us, and in order to promote the unanimity of Islam, we are induced to issue this auspicious friendship-denoting letter, the love-increasing zephyrs of affection being reflected towards your benevolent mind, and the opportunity being favourable for announcing the ties of friendship which of old and now bind us.

In a former friendly letter we requested the princely Ameer, as friendship and correspondence are established between the two ever-enduring governments of Persia and England, that the high in rank Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, English officers, who have been for some time at Bokhara and are detained there, should be released and sent along with a trust-worthy person to Meshed.

Now as the above-mentioned person of high rank (Dr. Wolff) is proceeding to Bokhara for the purpose of obtaining the release, and inquiring into the condition of those two officers, we also hope that the princely Ameer, as the above-mentioned person of high rank is one of the learned and distinguished persons of that government, will enjoin the authorities to show him all necessary kindness and hospitality, so that he may with all freedom and tranquillity employ himself in making inquiries as to their condition, and so that having completed his business he may return perfectly satisfied.

The peculiarities of the rules of friendship and cordiality are these; that the gates of amity and correspondence having been opened by the keys of the pen of unanimity, you should send letters containing the glad tidings of your auspicious condition, and that you should acquaint the ministers of this government with all occurrences of importance, and believe that we shall conclude them agreeably to the most pure friendship.

May the days of sovereignty and dominion be perpetual!

On our leaving the room, Khosrof Khan, a friend of Lady Georgiana, was in waiting, who told me that he would call on me. He wanted me to procure him one of the newly-invented

bellows to make fire with, which I promised to get for him. He made numerous inquiries about my son, and wife and family. He is one of the chief eunuchs of the king, and was formerly the prime favourite of Futt Allah Shah, but is not so much so of the present king. Is it not rather remarkable, that some of these eunuchs are married to several wives?—for instance, Manujar Khan, the present governor of Isfahan.

February 10th, I went to call on the ambassador of the king of Khiva, of whom more anon: but I must now continue to speak of the visits I made on Wednesday, the 7th of February. After I had left his Majesty's presence, Mr. Thomson called with me on the Haje Mirza Agasee, who is the prime-minister and factotum of the king; and an extraordinary man he is. He has the king entirely in his power; under the garb of a mullah, he lives with royal pomp, and scarcely ever says that the king 'will do so,' but the Haje 'has commanded': "I, the Haje, intend to send troops to Bokhara," &c. All the rest of the ministers approach him with reverence. When Muhammed Shah was as yet prince, Haje Mirza Agasee was his tutor, and predicted to him that he should be king; and after the execution of the late Kayem Makaam, he was made vizier. He received me with great affability, asked me to sit down near him; and when I told him that I considered myself happy to see the great vizier of the great Shah, the Haje said, "I am no vizier; I am a mullah, like yourself, a poor derveesh, who cares nothing for this world,—I only think of the other world." We then talked about England. He expressed his admiration of the rest of the English nation; and then informed me that a person from Khorassaun had written to him that Stoddart and Conolly had been killed, but he was not certain. But I called after this on the ambassador of the king of Bokhara, who decidedly denied the whole of it, and believes them to be in prison. The ambassador of the king of Bokhara, and his secretary, when I called on them, treated me with the greatest kindness, and expressed a wish to accom-

pany me themselves into Bokhara, and assured me that the king would receive me with the greatest distinction. In short, *nothing was known at Teheraun about them*, as little as at London, and only my going there would solve the mystery. I called yesterday, the 8th, also on the ambassador of the king of Khiva, who is a great enemy to the king of Bokhara; he advised me to request of Colonel Sheil to tell the Shah, that he would not allow the ambassador of Bokhara to stir from Persia until I had safely returned. I, of course, gave no answer to this advice, as Colonel Sheil did not wish to have it known that he had already spoken to the Shah about it.

Not a single eye-witness of the death of Stoddart and Conolly had as yet appeared; the ambassador even of the king of Khiva was not able to afford me any additional information. "*Maalloon neest*,"—'Nothing is certain about it,' was the answer to all inquiries. I do not think Colonel Sheil free from blame, since from his vicinity it does seem that he could easier arrive at the truth; but I admit that the Persians have such a horror of Bokhara that it would be almost impossible to induce them to go there, even for *a thousand tomauns*. Colonel Sheil rendered *me* most effectual aid: the Russian ambassador has done the like. With all these aids, Colonel Sheil said—and so did every one, if they were alive, I should get them.

I must not omit to mention, that Colonel Sheil also informed me that he had sent, two months before my arrival at Teheraun, a gholam of the embassy to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, at Meshed, requesting that his Excellency would send an express messenger to Bokhara with letters to the Ameer, in order that the Ameer might surrender to him the bones of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, in case they were dead, and their persons in the event of their being alive. Now I must say, if such a thing had been done immediately on the imprisonment of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, with the terror that the Ameer feels at the very name of the

Assaff-ood-Dowla, such a measure would certainly have saved their lives. Therefore, as I am now in England, and reflect on these points more coolly, I cannot but blame Colonel Sheil for having delayed the adoption of so strong a measure until I was *en route*, and when he knew that I was *en route*. My readers will have observed that I speak of Colonel Sheil with all the gratitude I owe to him, and with a due sense of his personal kindness to me; but still a portion of his conduct with regard to these gentlemen will always remain, I fear, somewhat mysterious. After all, as I shall prove hereafter, Colonel Sheil sent there a thorough rascal, Hassan Baba, who was not of the slightest use. This fellow arrived two months before me at Bokhara, and was never once admitted into the Ameer's presence, and was even afraid to stir out of his house. A most efficient agent, certainly!

On the 11th of February I preached at the British embassy in German and English, and administered the sacrament to two Chaldean bishops, Mar Yohannan and Mar Joseph. After the service, I requested one of them, Mar Yohannan, to pronounce the blessing, which he did. I have forwarded from them letters to the Bishop of London, requesting him to print their liturgy in London.

On reflection, I found that I should be awkwardly situated at Bokhara. If I kept a journal, it would look suspicious; I therefore determined to carry neither paper nor ink with me, to write in Persian, and send all the letters through the medium of the Ameer. The ambassador of the king of Khiva, a hostile power to Bokhara, told me that his sovereign had a great esteem for Captain Conolly and Mr. Thomson, one of the attachés here, and he had warned Conolly, on this very account, not to go to Bokhara.

I find my mission has excited great interest in St. Petersburgh. I met here Dr. Labat, professor of medicine at Paris, who assured me also of this. Letters have been despatched to Orenbourg, to the governor, to render me all the assistance

in his power. I baptized here, on February 12th, the child of General Semino, whom I knew at Meshed in 1831-2. The Russian consul-general stood godfather, and Madame Labat, wife of the gentleman just named, godmother. I read the service in English, Italian, and German. After the baptism, a splendid breakfast was given. Madame Labat is an extremely clever woman. She has accompanied her husband to Egypt, Suez, Algiers, St. Petersburgh, Astrachan, Bakou, Tiflis, and Teheraun; and they purposed at that time going to Heraut, but he became afterwards physician to the Shah. The child I baptized was as black as a negro; and so is Madame Semino, who was formerly Borowsky's wife.

After I had returned in 1829 with Lady Georgiana from Jerusalem to Alexandria, a Jew, Borowsky by name, called on me, of dandy-like appearance, who pretended to be the son of a Jewess, the mistress of Prince Radzivil. He seemed to me of a boasting disposition, which rendered me reluctant to have any intercourse with him, and he supported himself at Alexandria by giving lessons in mathematics and English. He left Alexandria in the beginning of 1830, and set out for Bombay. On my arrival at Tabreez in 1831, I sat at table with Sir John Campbell and Dr. (now Sir John) Mc Neill, when a letter came from the British resident of Busheer, mentioning to Sir John Campbell that a Polish nobleman, Borowsky by name, had arrived at Busheer from Bombay; that he was of gentlemanly appearance, but as he had brought no letters of introduction, he had not been received at the British embassy. I immediately said to Sir John Campbell, "Borowsky is not a Polish nobleman, but a Jew whom I knew at Alexandria." I soon after left Tabreez, and proceeded on my way to Bokhara. When I arrived in Khorassaun in 1831, towards the end of October, I was made a slave by the people of Muhammed Khan Kerahe of Torbad Hydarēa, who went by the name of "the Head-tearer," on account of his cruelty. I have given some details of this personage in a few previous

pages. After I was liberated from captivity, by the interference of Abbas Mirza, I arrived at Meshed in utter destitution. I wrote, therefore, to Captain Shee, who was with the army of Abbas Mirza at Nishapoor, requesting him to send me money and clothing. A few days after my having written to Captain Shee, a gentleman in the uniform of an English general entered my room, exclaiming, "How do you do, Mr. Wolff?" It was General Borowsky, the same person whom I knew at Alexandria. He related to me his singular adventures—singular even in an Eastern land, where men do seem to rise as it were by the possession of Aladdin's lamp, or some process equally marvellous. He had become acquainted with Colonel Chesney at Busheer, with whom he had formed an intimate friendship; and Colonel Chesney introduced him to Sir John Campbell, who then recommended him as a man of talent to Abbas Mirza. That prince took him into his service. Borowsky assisted Abbas Mirza most essentially, taking for him the strong town of Cochan, in Khorassaun; and it was Borowsky also who took the castle of Sarakhs, and made prisoner the leader of the Türkomauns. After the death of Abbas Mirza, he gave most essential assistance to Muhammed Mirza, the son of Abbas Mirza, and enabled him to ascend the throne of his grandfather, Futt Allah Shah. Borowsky confessed to me that he was the son of Jewish parents, on the father's as well as the mother's side. He left the interest of the British government, and joined the Russian party in Persia, and was shot at the siege of Heraut. His wife, a Georgian slave, received a pension from Mubammed Shah for the essential services Borowsky had rendered to Abbas Mirza, and after his death married General Semino.

It will probably be thought that I am about to take a chapter from Mr. D'Israeli in the following assertions, and I may be exposed, like him, to the laughing gibes of that sad fellow, *Punch;* but, notwithstanding, it is true that the most distinguished generals of the East are Jews. For instance,

General Ventura, in the service of Runjeet Singh, and afterwards of Sheer Singh, at Lahore, and who was the terror of the Affghauns, and the beloved governor of Cashmeer, is a Jew by birth; his name is Reuben-Ben-Toora. I could name several others. After the Jews, the Armenians are the most enterprising people of the East. Samson Khan and Yakoob Khan, from Tiflis, are brave and valiant generals, at present in the service of the king of Persia; and Krimitzki, archbishop of the Armenians in Persia and Hindūstaun, has established of late an excellent college at New Joolfa, where the Armenian boys are instructed in the French and English tongues.

I must here mention some curious details of those two men, Borowsky and Semino, which happened in the year 1831 at Meshed. Borowsky was in my room when Semino entered in full uniform, and demanded satisfaction from Borowsky for having struck his (Semino's) servant. Borowsky told him that he had been impertinent to him. Semino called him a liar, upon which Borowsky spat in his face. Semino then drew his sword. Borowsky said, "I will give you satisfaction in an instant." On saying this, he attempted to seize his pistols; on which Semino gave a signal to his eight servants at the door, who entered, bound Borowsky, and carried him off. I immediately ran, although it was ten at night, to Abbas Mirza, and procured Borowsky's release. The day following a Persian court-martial was held, of which, singular to say, I was president, and I decided that Semino should remain in arrest for twenty-four hours, and then apologize to Borowsky, as well as to myself. And this was done.

Borowsky died, as I have shown, after this, and left behind a widow and twenty-two thousand ducats. Semino married Borowsky's widow, in hopes of getting his money, but the executors of Borowsky made away with it. He got the widow *without the money*. Borowsky might smile at him in the other world. Semino, though I thus punished him, as I have stated, was now my great friend.

I saw this day, February 12th, a pompous Mussulman from Masulipatam, on the Coromandel coast, in India, famous for its snuff. He is, however, in reality of a renowned race. He descends from the Sefaweya. He came for purposes of religious discussion; but my mind was so full of my poor friends at Bokhara, that I did not undertake it, and simply asked him some questions about the Sefaweya dynasty. He says that there were eleven kings in Persia of that dynasty. The first lived in 1590. I give their names:

1. Ismael, son of Sultan Junneyd.
2. Shah Tahmanee.
3. Shah Ismael.
4. Sultan Muhammed.

All these resided at Casween: the following at Isfahan,—

5. Shah Abbas the Great.
6. Shah Sapee.
7. Shah Abbas II.
8. Shah Suleiman.
9. Shah Sultan Hussein.
10. Shah Taman.
11. Abbas III.

So far of the Sefaweya, the promoters of science and literature, by whose orders the Bible and Gospel were translated into Persian. Their successors,—

12. Nadir Shah: after him three kings, who reigned a few months; and then came to the throne
13. Kereem Khan, who married a daughter of the Sefaweya.
14. Ali Murad Khan.

This day, also, the ambassador of Khiva called on Colonel Sheil, and brought me a letter of recommendation addressed to all the Türkomauns of Sarakhs subject to the king of Khiva, and informing them that I was in possession of letters from the Sultan for the kings of Khiva, Khokand, and Bokhara.

On my departure from Teheraun, Colonel Sheil could scarce conceal his grief at losing me; he gave me some presents for the king of Bokhara, consisting of a watch, &c., but he

was too ill to accompany me out of the town. Mr. Abbot, the British consul of Teheraun, Mr. Holmes, both of whom had arrived the day before my departure from Teheraun in this capital, Messieurs Thomson, Reed, Karapet, and Glen, accompanied me one farsagh (four miles) out of town. I was, on February the 14th, escorted by Sadik Beyk, his Majesty's courier (*gholam*), Korban Ali Beyk, courier (*gholam*) to the British embassy; Rajab, late servant of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly; Jaarwadar (muleteer), and a postilion (Shakerd Japarjee); and furnished, beside my various letters of introduction, with a firmaun from the King, containing an order to the burgomaster (Ked Khoda), and every Hakem (governor) of every town, to give to me, in every station, without money, four chickens, pilaw, fifteen pounds of butter, ten mans of wood, five pounds of wax candles, barley and straw for the horses, and five horses. I arrived the first day at Palasht, a miserable village, containing about twenty-five houses, twenty miles from Teheraun.

Thursday, the 15th, I was annoyed by the muleteer, on account of the bad horses he had procured; but as the post-horses are not always to be got, I preferred hiring five with my own money to the trouble of waiting for them, and the whole hire did not amount to seventeen tomauns and five sahebkeran (8*l.* 10*s.*) from Teheraun to Meshed. We reached that day Jvanee-Keif, twenty-eight miles from the former, a very considerable village, surrounded by a range of gardens. Though I travelled at his Majesty's expense, I of course gave always two or three sahebkeran (one sahebkeran = sixpence) as a present, but the person with whom I lodged was over civil, for which he expected a large present, but was disappointed; and I must say that I never was so fortunate with servants as this journey—excellent servants they were, though of different characters; I mean by servants, all the attendants above mentioned.

Friday, the 16th February, we went between the mountains

called Darey Khar. Many murders have been committed in this pass. We met here people from Heraut, who told me that they were returning to Heraut with the intention to murder Yar Muhammed Khan, the vizier of Heraut, who had murdered their king, Shah Kamran, and was now tyrannizing over the people of Heraut. We arrived that day at Kitshlagh, twenty miles from the Darey Khar.

Saturday, the 17th, we went towards Deh-Namak, 'village of salt,' for the ground and water is salt. On the road we met pilgrims on horseback, who, on their way to Meshed, sang praises to Muhammed:

Comfort to Muhammed!
Comfort to Ali!
Prayers are worthy to be given to Muhammed!

Here I was informed that there is a sect existing at Mazanderan, who have a superstitious belief in the effect of eating swine's flesh.

Sunday, the 18th of February, arrived at Lasgerd, forty miles from the Deh-Namak. There I remained overnight in a castle, a most ancient building, constructed evidently before the appearance of the Prophet, and the saying is current that Genii had erected it. This spot was formerly a famous place for Guebres. The inhabitants told me that the Genii were, since the time of the Prophet, banished to Taht Soleiman, near Tabreez, to Mazanderan and Sistan; but they are now chained, so that they are not able, as in former times, to carry away beautiful girls and children.

Monday, the 19th, on passing the village Surkhak, we saw that Prince Seif Ullah Mirza was on his hunting expedition, and met his hounds. He is governor of Semnan, and brother to the king. After twenty miles ride we arrived at Semnan, a considerable town, containing about 6000 inhabitants. So far we travelled in the province of Irak. Semnan is the first town belonging to Khorassaun, coming from Teheraun. It contains several colleges. The vice-governor gave me a very

good room in the caravanseray, and sent me the victuals ordered by the king.

As I was not quite well, I stopped at Semnan the next day, and called on the prince, who spoke with great regard of Colonel Stoddart, whom he knew personally. He spoke, also, very highly of Sir John Mc Neill, though he and all the Persians accuse Sir John of having been the cause why Muhammed Shah could not take Heraut. His Highness sent me venison.

Wednesday, the 21st February, we arrived at Aghwan, a caravanseray twenty-four miles distant. A child was lost here in former times, which was restored to the mother by an animal called Aghu, at the intercession of the great patron saint of Khorassaun, Imaum Resa; hence the caravanseray is called Aghwan.

Thursday, the 22nd February, we left this caravanseray, and passed the ruined castle built by Nushirwan. We passed the cold mountain Tatawar, and arrived at a castle built by the present Shah, called Sultan-Abad,* near the caravanseray called Khosha, built by Shah Abbas. Muhammed Shereef Khan, from Casween, assured me that he was a great friend to the English people, for which he desired me to give him wine; as I had with me a few bottles given to me by Colonel Sheil, I gave to him one of them. The climate is particularly cold here.

Friday, the 23rd of February. Arrived, after twenty-four miles ride, at Damghan, considered, after Balkh and Nishapoor, the most ancient city in the world; and the numerous ruins testify the truth of its antiquity. But the Kedkhoda (burgomaster), who had been previously informed that a great Elchee, 'ambassador,' from England was coming, with above two hundred men, was so frightened that he fled from the town, and the colonel (Serhenk) was obliged to procure victuals for me.

* *Abad*, abode. A curious union of European and Asiatic terms.

Saturday, February 24th, we arrived at Deh-Mullah: as I felt very unwell, I got a barber to bleed me.

Sunday, the 25th, I entered Sharoot, a city containing about two thousand inhabitants. I lived here in a house erected expressly for the reception of respectable strangers by Ismael Mirza, formerly prince-governor of Boostan, the same who, twelve years ago, wanted to exact a promise from me that King William should give him six thousand tomauns per annum, in case of his sending me safely to Bokhara: a pension which just now would be welcome to him, for he lives at Teheraun in poverty. It is surprising to observe the change of feeling in Khorassaun towards the English people. Twelve years ago the people of Sharoot insulted my servants for serving an infidel; now, I entered Sharoot in my clerical habit and gown, and was well respected. This change is to be ascribed to the entrance of Abbas Mirza into Khorassaun, which brought, for the first time, many English people into notice in this country; and also to the invasion of the British army into Affghanistaun. On Monday I remained here, and visited the Muhammedan college of Sharoot, and conversed about the Gospel with their mullahs.

February 27th, I reached Miyamey, and on the 28th Miyandasht. From Miyandasht to Meher the road is considered rather dangerous, for the Tūrkomauns sometimes make it still unsafe, though not in such a degree as formerly; I therefore was, according to the order of the king, escorted, and Korban Khan, of Miyandasht, himself, with five horsemen armed, accompanied me to Abbas-Abad; and I must here observe, that Korban Khan behaved in a very handsome and disinterested manner. The road to Abbas-Abad is very dreary, and not a single village was seen for forty miles.

February 29th, I arrived at Abbas-Abad, twenty miles.

March 1st, 1844, at Messenan, formerly a large town, but now in ruins.

March 2nd at Meher, where I met a person from Torbad,

who immediately recognised me as the person who formerly was slave at Torbad. I also met a person, Soleiman by name, who was Stoddart's servant for a few days.

Sunday, March 3rd, we arrived at a beautiful village called Khosroejerd. I had sent on the king's courier to procure me a place for one hour's rest; but the fellow was tired as well as myself, and took lodging for staying there over-night.

Monday, March 4th, at Sebzawar, four miles distant; a town containing twelve thousand inhabitants. Here Tamerlane built a tower of the skulls of men whom he had slain in battle, and hither it was that the Jews were transported from Kaswin to Khorassaun, by Shah Abbas. Sebzawar is covered with verdure and melons in profusion. Hence it derives its name, *Sebz*, verdure; *awar*, having. All the mullahs called on me; and as the Persians dislike Omar, Osman, and Abubekr, they asked me therefore, Whom do you like better, Omar, Osman, and Abubekr; or Ali, Imaum Hussein, Imaum Resa, and Abool Casem? *W.* The latter. *Mullahs.* Why? *W.* Omar, Osman, and Abubekr killed people; but the latter were more conciliating.

Tuesday, March the 5th, I arrived in a miserable village called Safran.

Wednesday, March 6th, at Germ-Ab, *i. e.* 'warm water,' for there is a spa. As I had learnt that the Assaff-ood-Dowla (viceroy) of Khorassaun, and uncle to the king, for whom I had letters from the king, and who resides at Meshed, was only twenty miles distant from Germ-Ab, for his diversion, in a place called Maadan; I therefore sent to him the king's courier, my mehmoondar, to ask his Excellency whether he would receive me there or at Meshed. My mehmoondar returned late in the night, with a letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla (viceroy) for his lieutenant-governor at Meshed, to procure a good house for me at Meshed, and provide me with every thing necessary, and at the same time with a message to me, that he would receive me at Meshed

on the 25th of the month Saffar, *i. e.* the 15th of March, (after to-morrow,) when he would be at Meshed: and he sent me word that Stoddart and Conolly were alive eleven months ago, and that he had sent, only ten days before my arrival at Germ-Ab, Hassan Baba, a Merwee, with presents to the king of Bokhara, at the request of Colonel Sheil. For Colonel Sheil, as I mentioned, had sent three months before my arrival at Teheraun an express gholam to Meshed, requesting the Assaff-ood-Dowla to send on a man to Bokhara, and to demand the bones of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Now is it not very remarkable, that the man, though sent from Teheraun three months before my arrival there, should have been delayed four months at Meshed, until the Assaff-ood-Dowla granted the wish of Colonel Sheil? That the man waited at Meshed four months until he was admitted to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, is evident from the circumstance that the gholam of Colonel Sheil came to Germ-Ab on his way back to Teheraun. When I asked him, "Why did you stop so long at Meshed?" he answered me that Muhammed Ali Serraf, Colonel Stoddart's agent, to whose care the letter was sent by Colonel Sheil, delayed giving it to the Assaff-ood-Dowla until eleven days before I met the gholam at Germ-Ab. Now here I cannot avoid making another remark, for the matter is too important to be passed over. Before I left England, I wrote a confidential letter to Mr. Addington, of the Foreign-office, telling him that I should do all in my power to prevent any political discussion on account of my mission, in order that it might assume its true form, and not become a question of Whig or Tory. The subject is, however, too important to be disregarded, and since I have come back, and been enabled to reflect on the subject, I must say that it was very unfortunate that Colonel Sheil did not know, before he put such confidence in Muhammed Ali Serraf, the character of the man; and thus the safety of the lives of the two envoys was left depen-

dent on the trustworthiness of a villainous Persian, who was surreptitiously concealing the property of one of the victims, whom from the basest motives he had left to perish at Bokhara, holding his property from him and his relatives, and sacrificing his life.

Mr. Ainsworth, in one of his late Magazines, says that "I am unjust against Colonel Sheil, for Muhammed Ali Serraf was employed by Colonel Sheil." But I would wish that gentleman to observe, that Muhammed Ali Serraf was first of all sent with some other rascally Persians from Heraut to Bokhara to ransom Colonel Stoddart; instead of which, they, on their arrival, intrigued with Abdul Samut Khan; so that poor Stoddart was obliged to make Muhammed Ali his agent, and consign his shawls to him, of which I was only able to save a part, as will be seen hereafter. So that it was Colonel Sheil's duty to have well known his man before he trusted to Muhammed Ali Serraf, for what could Stoddart do otherwise? Muhammed Ali Serraf came recommended to Bokhara by the agents of the British government; and as Mullah Seffee, the Jew at Meshed, said to me, "A drowning man takes hold of any piece of wood in order to save himself."

Thursday, March 7th, 1844, I arrived at Nishapoor. Nisam-Ool-Mulk, the celebrated vizier of Alparstan of the Seljuckian dynasty, adorned the city of Nishapoor, reckoned by Orientals to be the most ancient city in the world, after Balkh. It was destroyed in the year 1157 by the *Khoosa*, who burnt the mosques, murdered the mullahs, and tried to convert the Mussulmans to idolatry by torture. Youssuff Kakulli, a Türkomaun from Khiva, and Hassan Khan Kurd from Mazanderaun, both chiefs, called on me there; and Kakulli showed to me a letter from his brother at Bokhara, who assured him that the tall Englishman was still alive at Bokhara. Tamas Beyk, chief of the couriers in Khorassaun, to whom all the couriers (Japarjees) and the Kafila Bashis (heads of caravans) from Khorassaun come, a man active and well-inclined to the

English interest, also called upon me, and assured me that Mullah Kurban, the Kafila Bashi from Mymona, had assured him that Stoddart and Conolly were still alive, in the Kalaa (castle) outside Bokhara.

Friday, March 8th, I stopped on purpose with Tamas Beyk, to see whether he would remain consistent in his story, and he did. This Tamas Beyk, a man of the highest importance, bitterly complained to me of the neglect with which he was treated by Colonel Sheil; that he always had taken particular care that the gholams (couriers) of the British embassy should be served well; and that he had at different times written to Colonel Sheil, but his letters had been treated with contempt. Several other persons complained of Colonel Sheil, —even the Assaff-ood-Dowla; whilst all of them said that they were not so treated by the Russian embassy. I wrote, therefore, openly to Colonel Sheil about it from Meshed: he profited by my advice, but I think that my openness did me harm.

Saturday, I arrived in the village called Kadamgah, 'place of the foot,' inhabited by Sayids, where my mehmoondar had prepared a place for me in the mosque; but I declined accepting it, observing that it was not decent to sleep in a place of worship: all the Sayids exclaimed, "Khoob ademee,"—'He is a good man.' Several of the chief Sayids came to me, and wished to obtain from me a notion of the religion which I profess, and which I faithfully conveyed to them. Many of them expressed a wish to go to England, and to be better informed of our religion and habits. The change for the better I have met with in Khorassaun, since the time I was here in 1831, is surprising,—a proof of what a well-regulated government is able to effect; for it is evidently now better governed by the king and his lord-lieutenant, than it was under those tyrannical khans, who have been successfully exterminated in a most wonderful manner; and the invasion of the British in Affghanistaun has also much contributed towards it.

Sunday the 10th, arrived at Shereef-Abad, the place where I, in 1831, was the second time in danger of being made a slave, and where I was beaten for not saying the *Kalima*. I lived now again in the same house, feared and respected,—though arriving in my clergyman's gown, which made them stare.

On Monday, the 11th of March, I arrived at Askerea, two miles distant from Meshed. I had sent on before the king's mehmoondar, and the gholam of the British embassy. The first who came to meet me was Mullah Mehdee (Meshiakh), the Jew with whom I had lodged twelve years ago, and who treated me most hospitably when in distress and misery and poverty, previous to the arrival of Abbas Mirza at Meshed from Nishapoor.

All the Jews of Meshed, a hundred and fifty families, were compelled, seven years ago, to turn Mussulmans. The occasion was as follows. A poor woman had a sore hand; a Mussulman physician advised her to kill a dog, and put her hand in the blood of it: she did so; when suddenly the whole population rose, and said that they had done it in derision of their Prophet. Thirty-five Jews were killed in a few minutes; the rest, struck with terror, became Muhammedans, and the *fanatic* and *covetous* Muhammedans shouted, "Light of Muhammed has fallen upon them!" They are now more zealous Jews *in secret* than ever; but call themselves, like the Jews in Spain, *Anusim*, 'the compelled ones.' Their children cannot suppress their feelings when their parents call them by their Muhammedan names. But Mullah Mehdee and Mullah Moshe believe in Christ, and Mullah Mehdee asked me to baptize him. He has been of the greatest use to the English in Heraut and Candahar, as his testimonials from Rawlinson and others amply indicate.

Soon after, Saleh-Muhammed, the Akhund-Zadeh, who gave to Colonel Sheil the detailed account of the death of Stoddart and Conolly, came also on horseback to meet me. He is not the same person whom I supposed that I knew, and he

is a Sunnée, and may have heard the story at Bokhara; but I did not believe the truth of it, and was still of the opinion, with many others, that both were alive.

The third who came out to meet me was Mullah Muhammed Serraf, Colonel Stoddart's agent at Meshed. This person, I was informed by Mullah Mehdee and others, held property in his possession to a considerable amount belonging to Colonel Stoddart. He himself never uttered a word about it; on the contrary, he spoke to me of Colonel Stoddart's being in his debt. He (Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf) seemed to be a civil, many-promises-making fellow, boasting of the services he did to the English,—a cowardly rogue, only bent upon his own interest, and who had most shamefully neglected Colonel Stoddart's welfare, for which he was paid. At the recommendation of Colonel Stoddart himself, who seemed to have been imposed upon by the said Mullah, Colonel Sheil forwarded through him all the letters to Stoddart. Now what struck me as strange in him was this; that the first words he uttered were, "I shall now deliver to you the letter that Colonel Sheil sent to me from the Sultan of Constantinople."

W. Why did not you send long ago a man with the letter to Bokhara, which you sent back once to Colonel Sheil after the report of Stoddart's death, and which was sent a second time to you by Colonel Sheil for the purpose of forwarding it on?

Mullah Muhammed. Every one was afraid to take it.

W. Why did you not send on the letter with the man of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, who was sent to Bokhara at Colonel Sheil's request thirteen days ago?

Mullah Muhammed. I was afraid that the king of Bokhara might ask the man of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, "What have you to do with the Sultan of Constantinople? Who gave you this letter?"

Could any thing be more annoying than this? Besides, Mr. Macnaghten and Miss Stoddart had forwarded, a year

previous, letters to Colonel Sheil from Sir Moses Montefiore, at my advice, for the Jews of Samarcand, Bokhara, and Balkh: all these letters Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf told me he had sent on *only one* month ago to the Jews of Bokhara,—if he sent them at all. I became therefore more anxious than ever to reach Bokhara, and determined that nothing should prevent me from my design but death; for the Assaff-ood-Dowla himself sent me word that he had learnt that *both* were alive eleven months ago. And I wrote therefore a second letter to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, on my arrival at Meshed, beseeching him to send me on with the greatest speed and haste; and his Excellency proved that he was ready to do so, by sending me on to Mowr with all the Tūrkomaun chiefs who were at Meshed at the time.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at Meshed. Visited on arrival by the Heads of the Mosque. Distance traversed by Dr. Wolff—Reported to be a Mullah two hundred years old. The improbability of Saleh Muhammed's Statement clearer shown by further Examination of him. Muhammed Ali Serraf, a Villain. Haje Ibrahim, brother of Abdul Samut Khan. Aga Abool Kasem. Letters of Sir Moses Montefiore for the Jews of Bokhara detained by Muhammed Ali Serraf, and not forwarded to Bokhara. High-priests of the Mosque. Arrival of the Viceroy, the Assaff-ood-Dowla, at Meshed—The Viceroy commends Dr. Wolff to the care of the Türkomauns. New Rooz, New-Year's Day of the Persians, March 20th. Advice given by the Assaff-ood-Dowla to Dr. Wolff—The Viceroy sends Presents by Dil Assa Khan to the Ameer of Bokhara. Türkomauns—Delays used by the Türkomaun Chief, Dil Assa Khan. Letters sent to the King of Khiva. Interrogation of Saleh Muhammed by Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff quits Meshed. Extortion of Dil Assa Khan. Arrival at Jehaar Gunbaz—Threat of Assaff-ood-Dowla to Dil Assa Khan. Route through Rabat, Mahel, Masteroon, Karagosh, Gonbazli. Arrival at Mowr—Hospitably received by Abd Arrahman, the Khaleefa of the Türkomauns—High Character of the English in Mowr. Description of Abd-Arrahman—Anecdote of the Protection of the Khivites by the Khaleefa—Dancing Derveeshes. The Khaleefa offers Dr. Wolff the means of Escape, and dissuades him from going to Bokhara—Conversation with the Derveesh of Kashgar. Letter to Captain Grover. Sensation created at Bokhara by Lord Ellenborough's Letter to the Ameer. Letter to Lady Georgiana. Schools in the Desert. Ghengis Khan—March of the Russians to India.

On my arrival at Meshed I was received in the most polite manner by Mirza Askeree, Mirza Moosa Khan, both heads of the religion and chiefs of the great mosque at Meshed; which is not a little thing. The Assaff-ood-Dowla* was expected on the 15th of March to a certainty.

* *Assaff*, or *Asaph*, is mentioned in the Kings and Chronicles as the recorder of the empire in the time of Hezekiah. There was another of the race in the reigns of David and Solomon. The Muhammedans say that he was the

But the above-mentioned Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf, in whose hands above two thousand tomauns' worth of property of Stoddart was found, actually frightened one of my servants, Rajab, from accompanying me to Bokhara, for he would follow me only as far as Mowr. I took another servant of Stoddart's, Abdullah by name, who turned out a most consummate rascal. I was now overrun with people, who came from Heraut, Cabūl, and other places from Affghanistaun, Affghauns with testimonials from Rawlinson, Conolly, Todd, and Doctor Riach, of the services they had rendered to the British army. I copy one of these testimonials:

This is to certify, that Meer Allie Khan Khort was one of the chiefs of the Kuzzlebash who accompanied me for the recovery of the prisoners, and that he behaved most handsomely, and afforded me all the assistance in his power.

(Signed) RICHMOND SHAKESPEARE.

September 20th, 1842.

I gave this fellow one tomaun, for he seemed to me to be in great distress. But there came two others, who produced some paper from Major Todd, by whom they were sent to Bokhara to release Stoddart, who were most consummate rascals: the one named Seyf Kulle Khan, and the other Tamas Kulle Khan. They bitterly complained that they had been sent to Bokhara, and had not been remunerated for it, whilst I knew from Aga Abool Kasem, formerly British agent at Meshed, and from my friend Mullah Mehdee, that they had received about one thousand five hundred tomauns, or seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling, as a reward. On mentioning Aga Abool Kasem, formerly British agent here, the question may be asked, Why

wise Vizier of Solomon, and therefore viziers or viceroys in Persia have frequently the title of Assaff-ood-Dowla, *i. e. The Assaff of the Empire.* Alloyer Khan, uncle to the present king of Persia, has now this title. He is a man of great cunning and genius, and aspires to the throne of Persia. He preserves a good understanding with the mullahs of Meshed, and is in reality the king of Khorassaun. He is courted by Russia, but neglected by England.

was he not employed by Colonel Sheil in forwarding the letters to Bokhara? There are two very weighty reasons for it, if not more. 1st. Aga or Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf was Stoddart's agent, and recommended as such. 2nd. Aga Abool Kasem candidly told me that he had declined to undertake the task, as he had a brother residing at Bokhara who had not the courage to assist him. And the above-mentioned rascals told me that when they came to Bokhara they only had a sight of Colonel Stoddart, but were afraid to speak to him; and all they did was, to deliver a note to him in a stealthy manner, and to receive one from him in the same way. I wrote to Colonel Sheil, and requested him to send on immediately Mr. Thomson to Meshed, to look also into the affairs of Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf, Stoddart's agent, in order that every thing might be delivered into his (Thomson's) hands. Seyf Kulle Khan and Tamas Kulle Khan remained at Meshed several months after they had got the money from Todd to proceed to Bokhara. They did not move until Muhammed Ali Serraf was sent with them. On their arrival at Bokhara the trio did nothing but intrigue against Stoddart with Colonel Sheil's friend, Abdul Samut Khan.

All the Jews from Torbad, who saw me in slavery there in 1831, and those who knew me at Sarakhs, were here; one of them offered himself to me as a servant. I found that I should not be enabled to set out for Meshed before the 25th of March for Bokhara.

My journey up to this point was as follows:

		Miles.
1.	From Southampton to Constantinople	3300
2.	,, Constantinople to Trebizond	480
3.	,, Trebizond to Erzroom	180
4.	,, Erzroom to Teheraun	588
5.	,, Teheraun to Meshed	556
		5104
	There remained only to Bokhara	550
		5654

Among the other wild Eastern rumours at Sharoot, a report was spread that a mullah from England had arrived, two hundred years of age, Joseph Wolff by name.

I forwarded hence three letters to the king of Khiva: the first from the Sultan of Constantinople, the second from Colonel Sheil, and the third from the ambassador of Khiva to the court of Persia, whom I had met at Teheraun, with a letter to his Majesty the king of Khiva, written by myself. My own letter was in the following terms:

Joseph Wolff, the derveesh of the Christians in England, sends his blessing to his Majesty the king of Organtsh, and wishes him the wisdom of Solomon the Wise, (upon whom is the comfort of God and peace,) and the power and riches of Timur Kurikanee, the conqueror and possessor of the earth. Know ye, O King, that I am the well-known derveesh of England, and have traversed, for the sake of Jesus, Egypt, Mount Sinai, Yemen, Jerusalem, Damascus, Bokhara, Balkh, and Hind, and the New World, which lies on the other side of the ocean. All these countries I traversed for the sake of God and Jesus, and for the good of my fellow-creatures, telling princes and little ones that they should repent and turn to God, for we are of God, and to God we must return. I also spoke with the Muhammedan mullahs, and with Jews and Guebres, that we have to expect first of all the coming of Dejaal (Anti-christ), who shall bring great mischief into the world, and force many to worship him as God: but after him Jesus shall come, and kill Dejaal with the breath of his mouth, and set up a kingdom, that all nations shall serve Him; and in his time the lion and the lamb shall lie down together, and the earth shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea; and universal peace shall prevail upon earth.

But now I go to Bokhara for another object. I have been informed, and all England has been informed, that two English officers of high rank, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, have been put to death at Bokhara; and as the life of an Englishman is dear to his people, the account has spread great indignation throughout England, Russia, Germany, and America. I therefore said that I would go to Bokhara, in order to ascertain the truth or falsehood of that report; and if they should be still alive, that I would

demand their persons from the king of Bokhara. I beg, therefore, your Majesty to bestow on me the following favours: 1st. To write to the king of Bokhara to grant my request; 2nd. That your Majesty will make known my mission,—not only among Khivites, but also send letters to all the Türkomauns and Hazārahs, and to the khans of Ankhoy, Maymona, and to the Ameer of Cabūl, and to the king of Khokand and Shahr Sabz.

Giving you my benediction as the great Derveesh, well known throughout Frankistaun and in the land of Russia,

(Sealed) JOSEPH WOLFF.

To the Hazārah at Daragass, Arand, Ankhoy, and Khoollom:—

Joseph Wolff, the derveesh of England, believer in Jesus, sends his salutation and his blessing to the powerful tribe of the Hazārah, celebrated among the heroes of Türkistaun, and whose ancestors have been valiant companions in battle to the great Ghengis Khan, the Tshagatay. Know ye that I am going to Bokhara to demand from the Ameer Nasir Behadur Ullah, in the name of God, and Jesus the Word of God, the release of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly; and after this I wish to pay you a visit, and speak with you about the great trumpet which shall be sounded, and the descent of Jesus from heaven, amidst the shouts of angels. For I have learnt that you have a respect for Englishmen, and especially such as Pottinger and D'Arcy Todd; and therefore I am confident that you will receive me kindly. I therefore beseech you to announce my going to Bokhara among the Ghirgese and Cossacks of the Desert. For it is of high importance that all the inhabitants of Türkistaun should know that Englishmen do not look with indifference on their brethren in captivity, and that there is a derveesh whose life is devoted to the service of God.

(Sealed) J. WOLFF.

I got both these corrected and fine copied at Meshed, by Mirza Muhammed Noori, and forwarded by a relation of Shah Soujah El-Mulck, late king of Cabūl.

During the whole period of my stay at Meshed, the Assaff-ood-Dowla (viceroy) of Khorassaun, ordered his lieutenant to treat me with all the respect of an ambassador, and three

rooms were placed at my disposal, and every day victuals were sent to me by the Calandar.

On a second conversation with the Akhund-Zadeh, Saleh Muhammed, my hopes were further raised of the probable existence of Stoddart and Conolly. One solitary person at Bokhara was also, he admitted, the sole source of his information. I did not believe his story: 1st. Because Tamas Beyk, the chief of the Japaree of several provinces in Khorassaun, a kind-hearted and excellent man, who lives at Nishapoor, told me that Kurban, the chief of caravans, who resides at Maymona, twelve days journey from Bokhara, and who is there every three months, assured him that both Stoddart and Conolly were alive, and imprisoned in the Kalai, outside of Bokhara. Kakulli, also a Türkomaun chief, who was likewise at Nishapoor, showed to me a letter from his brother at Bokhara, in which he stated that Stoddart was alive to a certainty. Further, his Excellency the Assaff-ood-Dowla (viceroy) of Khorassaun, to whom I sent the king's courier to inquire where I should meet him, whether at Maadan or Meshed, sent me word that Stoddart and Conolly were alive last year. 3rd. The people of Meshed themselves told me, that the report of their death had been current at Meshed three years ago, when it was certain they were alive. 4th. It was reported for five years at Bokhara, that the Goosh-Bekee had been put to death, when he suddenly made his appearance again, and only died a short time since a natural death. 5th. All people at Meshed say, "Kesee nadeed," 'No one has seen the execution.'

The further I investigated the character of Aga Muhammed Ali Serraf, the greater rogue he appeared. Poor Stoddart ordered all his letters to be addressed by Colonel Sheil to him. The Sultan's letter was sent to him, for Colonel Sheil had nobody else at Meshed on whom he could rely.

My proofs are these: on my first meeting him, I asked him whether he had sent on the letter of the Sultan, which

he had received a year ago, and which he had sent back to Colonel Sheil on the first report of their death, and which Colonel Sheil returned with the express order of forwarding it to Bokhara at any rate? I have shown how he equivocated on that point; and on my entrance into Meshed, he hesitated as to giving me the letter, until I sent him a threatening message, when he produced it, but brought with him one of his friends who was at Bokhara, viz. Haje Ibrahim, brother to Abdul Samut Khan, of whom Colonel Sheil told me afterwards that cunning and knavery were depicted in his very look; and he sate down in my room, and said, with a loud voice, "Have you a letter from the Queen of England for the King of Bokhara?" I replied, "No, but I have letters from the Sultan of Constantinople, from the King of Persia, and from the Russian ambassador." Haje Ibrahim replied, "All these letters are *pootsh*," which means, *good for nothing*. "I will tell you what they will do with you as soon as you arrive at Jehaar-Joo. They will put you in a little room, take from you all the money you have, keep you there until an answer comes from the Ameer, to whom they will report your arrival. After his answer, they will bind your eyes, that you shall not be able to see any thing about you in the country, put you in the black well, and then kill you." I asked, "How do you know that?" He said, "Stoddart came to Bokhara with a letter from the Vizier Muchtar, the British envoy at Teheraun; he was put in prison. After this, Conolly came with letters from the ambassador at Cabūl, or, as he called him, the Laard Nawaub Saheb. He was put in prison. Then a letter came from the Sultan. The Ameer cast it away with disdain, and said, 'The Sultan is half a Kafir, (infidel); I want a letter from the Queen of England.' Some time after *a letter arrived from the Sirkar of Hind*, (the Governor-general). This letter," said he, with a sneer, "stated, '*that Stoddart and Conolly were innocent travellers.*' Upon which the Ameer was so angry, that he put both *to*

death; and I have this account from my brother, Abdul Samut Khan."

I beg the reader to remark this point with respect to this important letter, which on my return to Teheraun, when Haje Ibrahim came thither for the money which he claimed for Abdul Samut Khan, he boasted, in the presence of Mr. Glen, one of the attachés of the British embassy, to have mentioned to me, and then repeated all the above conversation at Meshed, verbatim, especially relative to Lord Ellenborough's letter.

I immediately took the letter of the Sultan, which was in the possession of Muhammed Ali Serraf, and put it into the case with the other letters of the Sultan and the King of Persia which I had brought with me, and told the fellows,— "Your endeavour to frighten me is in vain: I shall set out from here, and need not the assistance of any one of you."

Aga Abool Kasem, formerly the British agent at Meshed, a respectable merchant from Heraut, called on me, for I had a letter for him from Colonel Sheil. I asked him why he did not take the letter from Muhammed Ali Serraf, and send it on to Bokhara? He, more upright than that fellow, told me,— "I have a brother at Bokhara, who is a coward, and who would not have executed my wish; and I should not have liked to compromise him myself, for I never received a salary from the British government, and I am a merchant."

On the 13th of March I by chance learnt from Mullah Mehdee, the Jew, that several letters had been sent from Sir Moses Montefiore to the care of Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf, Stoddart's agent. I immediately recollected that they must be the same letters which I had advised Mrs. Macnaghten and Miss Stoddart to procure from Sir Moses Montefiore, and forward them through Mullah Mehdee, of Meshed, to the Jews of Bokhara, Samarcand, Balkh, and Khokand; but Colonel Sheil, of course, according to Stoddart's direction, forwarded them through his agent, Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf. He called on me yesterday evening, and I said,—

"What have you done with the letters for the Jews of Bokhara, &c.?"

Mullah Muhammed. I broke the seal, took off the envelope, and had the direction of it written by Ismael the Jew in Hebrew only; for as the English writing upon it might make the Jews suspected, I thought that it was not safe.

Now there was some reason in this: but in the first instance, in the East a letter without a seal goes for nothing; secondly, on my desiring him to produce the envelopes, which he said he had preserved, I found that he only had forwarded the letters to Samarcand, Balkh, and Khokand, but broken the seal and kept back the most important of all, the letter of Sir Moses Montefiore to the Jews of Bokhara. As I was sure that Sir Moses Montefiore, who does not like me, would be sorry if I was the deliverer of the letter, and seeing then no necessity for it, I returned the letter to him in England. And even the other letters, I found to a certainty, had only been forwarded thirty days ago.

Aga Abool Kasem, the above-mentioned respectable merchant, and formerly British agent, gave me this day the following exact information as to the property of Colonel Stoddart in the hands of his agent, (viz.) that Muhammed Ali Serraf was in possession of shawls consigned to him by Colonel Stoddart, which he had given as a pawn to merchants to obtain money from them for buying land, for they are to the amount of two thousand tomauns—one thousand pounds sterling. I asked him about that. He replied, that he had still the shawls in his possession, and he intended to deliver the shawls to Colonel Stoddart's sister in person; and then sat down to write a letter to his (Colonel Stoddart's) sister. The fellow is a rogue; he told me that Stoddart said, (which has a lie on the face of it,) that he was to deliver the shawls to his sister, who would richly reward him.

I called on the 12th on the great high-priests at Meshed—Mirza Said Askeree, the Imaum Jemaat of Meshed, and Haje

Mirza Moosa Khan, Metwalle of the mosque, both of whom have been very kind to me, and given me every assistance. They wish to obtain a lithographic press, each one of them, and the Assaff-ood-Dowla requires a beautiful spy-glass. I wrote to England to get these things forwarded to them, not by Stoddart's agent, but by Mullah Mehdee, my friend.

March 15th. The Assaff-ood-Dowla (viceroy) of Khorassaun arrived here, and immediately sent his chamberlain to welcome me. Three hundred Türkomaun chiefs from the desert of Mowr were here, beseeching the Assaff-ood-Dowla to bring their tribe near Meshed: by them I was to be escorted to Mowr. The Assaff-ood-Dowla will send one of his men with me on to Bokhara. Report said that a Russian ambassador reached that city a month previous to the time I was at Meshed.

March 20th. The Assaff-ood-Dowla assembled the Türkomauns in his tent, read my letters from the various Sovereigns, and then said to them, "Here I entrust to you an English mullah, recommended to the king of Bokhara by four Powers." They stroked their beards, and swore to bring me safely to Bokhara.

This is the *New Roox* (new-year's day) of the Persians. His Excellency the Assaff-ood-Dowla sent me sweetmeats, and gold and silver *pence*,—which are considered *blessed pence*,—to the value of five tomauns sterling, according to Persian custom. I saw at his levee the Persian soldiers drilled before him. One Türkomaun chief is appointed to bring me safely to Bokhara; and of the three hundred Türkomaun chiefs, thirty go to the king of Persia, and the rest ride on before to announce me to the Türkomauns of Sarakhs and Merwe.

My letters from the Sultan and Sheikh Islam of Constantinople for the king and mullahs of Khiva and Khokand, were sent on by an express Türkomaun, for which I paid fifty tomauns. I gave one hundred tomauns to the men of the Assaff-ood-

Dowla. The change of circumstances in Khorassaun surprises me since the last twelve years, among the low as well as among the high; I am here received by all the mullahs with the same distinction as they treat each other. The Assaff-ood-Dowla is one of the shrewdest persons I ever met with. He said to me, "Now I will tell you a few words which you must learn by heart, and address to the king of Bokhara, and the words are these:—I am sent from England, and from the Turkish government, and from the Russian government, and the Persian government, by reason of that friendship which subsists between these governments and England." I asked him whether he would wish to have an English physician here? he replied emphatically, but with politeness, "There is no necessity for that; all we want is, the friendship of England." He sent presents by Dil Assa Khan, chief of the Merwee, who was to take me to Bokhara, for the king, amounting to five hundred tomauns in value. Really our government ought to recognise his great kindness, even to so mean a member of its body corporate as myself. My letters from England were conveyed to me by the hands of his own chamberlain. My rooms were here a most extraordinary sight. On one occasion, while I was writing to England, four Türkomaun chiefs were seated on the ground, eating bread, sour milk, and pocketing the sweetmeats given to them; Mullah Mehdee sate in another compartment of the room, (I have privately baptized him); Dil Assa Khan opposite to him, writing down what I wanted for the road,—such things as sugar, four horses, a tent, dates, &c.; Aga Abool Kasem, a Persian merchant, sitting on the ground. Sadik Beg, the king of Persia's mehmoondar, looks anxious about my safety. My own servants consulting what I ought still to have with me.

On the 25th the Assaff-ood-Dowla sent for me, and desired me to mention in my letters to England the following facts:—

After the Türkomauns of Merwe had rebelled against the king of Khiva, and killed the governor set over them by that

sovereign, they first of all sought protection from the king of Bokhara; but he (the Assaff-ood-Dowla) having been informed of the ill treatment of Stoddart and Conolly, induced all the Tūrkomauns to rebel against the king of Bokhara, and three hundred Tūrkomaun chiefs, whom I myself had seen at the palace, were come to Meshed to ask permission of him to settle near it. The Assaff-ood-Dowla has consequently secured under his command the most powerful tribes, Sarakhs, Mahal, Merwe, and Tajan. From these Tūrkomauns he sends to Teheraun, not, as I first understood, thirty, but seventy, as hostages to the king, in order to insure me a good reception in the desert of Mowr, and also to obtain their powerful interference in case the king of Bokhara should resort to violent measures against me. Besides this, he assured me that, should the Shah have any scruples as to the detention of the Eljee of Bokhara, he would detain him at Meshed until I reached it safe and sound. When Colonel Sheil wrote to the Assaff-ood-Dowla sixty days ago, to send on a man to Bokhara on the instant that prince received the letter, which was not until long after the arrival of the messenger at Meshed who was the bearer of it, by the rascality of Muhammed Ali Serraf, he sent one with presents to the amount of five hundred tomauns, and he said that he should send further presents to the same amount by Dil Assa Khan. He also said that he was ready to march on Bokhara with the Shah's permission, and upon the first hint from England, and that our own country would be the noble liberatrix of a thousand slaves.

Were even the bones of Stoddart and Conolly produced to me, I determined now to proceed to Bokhara, and to investigate how they died. A strong prestige was also rising in my favour. Yar Muhammed Khan, at Heraut, had been advised by his friends at Meshed to write to the king of Bokhara to release the prisoners and treat me well. The Hazārah, also, in the deserts of Maymona, proclaimed my mission to Bokhara, as far as Khoollom. The various delays at this place became

so vexatious, that I wrote to the Assaff-ood-Dowla on the 24th March complaining of Dil Assa Khan, the chief of several tribes of Merwee, who wanted to stay till the 27th of this month, when it was my wish to set out on the 26th (Tuesday), and not on the Wednesday. His Highness ordered Dil Assa Khan, accordingly, to leave on the 26th of this month. Dil Assa Khan received from me one hundred tomauns, and the Assaff-ood-Dowla gave to him out of his own pocket three hundred tomauns, and sent presents, as I have mentioned, for the king of Bokhara to the amount of five hundred tomauns. Colonel Sheil also had given to me some cloth (three pieces), and a silver watch for the Ameer, in order not to appear empty handed. The letters of the Sultan of Constantinople for the king of Khiva, and the letters of the Sheikh Islam of Constantinople for the mullahs of Khiva and Khokand, had also been sent to the king of Khîva by Youssuff Mirza, the Shah Zadeh, an Affghaun prince, who early this morning called on me; and who sent on a man to Khiva with a Tūrkomaun, to whom I paid fifty tomauns, and shall have to pay him thirty tomauns after he brings an answer from the king of Khiva, which will be delivered to Colonel Sheil at Teheraun, for I shall not be back from Bokhara until the answer returns from Khiva. I also wrote to the king of Khiva, desiring him to order the Tūrkomauns under his jurisdiction not to molest me on the road, and to make known to all the Tūrkomauns the reason of my expedition to Bokhara. This will have, as the king of Khiva is at enmity with Bokhara, a two-fold effect; first of all, he will take good care to make it known among all the Tūrkomauns, and at Shahr Sabz, Khokand, Samarcand, Khoollom, and even at Bokhara, that the conduct of the king of Bokhara is disapproved by the Sultan, and resented by the other Powers of Europe; and it will at the same time deter the Usbeck Tatars from giving any further assistance to the king of Bokhara. Mullah Mehdee, a friend of Yar Muhammed Khan, at Heraut, wrote, *in his name* (not in *my* name), to

Yar Muhammed Khan, that now was the time to succeed in obtaining the support of England, by writing to the king of Bokhara that he should set free the English prisoners, and treat me with distinction on my arrival at Bokhara. Youssuff Mirza, the Shah Zadeh, wrote also the same to him, and to the Hazārah tribes of Maymona and Ankhoy; to the latter he wrote for the purpose of making it known among all the mullahs, derveeshes, and awliyaans, in order that they might call on the Ameer of Bokhara to suffer the strangers to go back to their own land.

I also addressed a most respectful letter to the Ameer of Bokhara, with the intention of delivering it myself, in which I reminded his Majesty of the hospitable reception he granted to me when at Bokhara twelve years ago, and my having boldly defended him in England and throughout Europe when I heard him accused of having been the murderer of guests; and petitioned his Majesty most humbly to allow me to bring back my friends to their native country, or, should *they have died on account of some fault committed*, to inform me of the nature of their crime, and to permit me to carry with me to England their corpses, to be buried there by their relations. I put this letter into the hands of the Imaum Jemaat, of Meshed, who read it in the mosque of Gowher Shah, where five thousand people were assembled.

A caravan arrived here some days ago from Bokhara, and the answer to my inquiries was, *They may be alive*, for nobody has seen them executed, whilst the others were publicly executed; and the Goosh-Bekee, or vizier, who for five years was supposed to have been put to death, suddenly came forth *alive and well from prison;* and the chief of the caravan of Bokhara, Mullah Kereem by name, who is there every two months and has a wife there, told me two days ago, that if any one asserted that he had seen the execution of the two Eljees, he was a liar! And as I have said, even the Akhund-Zadeh, Saleh Muhammed, told me that the two persons who

were put to death, and of whom he gave a circumstantial account to Colonel Sheil, might have been two other persons, and the executioner who told him the story might have belied him; and besides this, I must confess that two things appeared suspicious to me in the extreme in the Akhund-Zadeh's account. First of all, at one time he told me that the executioner from whom he had the story had been the executioner of Stoddart; on another day, when I asked him again which of the two executioners had put Stoddart to death, he replied that he did not know. Besides that, I used the method of questioning him which Mr. Pitt applied to people whose veracity he suspected *on a certain subject.* He questioned those people on other points; so did I with the Akhund-Zadeh. I asked him one day about the intended expedition of the Russians to Khiva: the answer of the Akhund-Zadeh was, that he knew positively that not one single Russian came back to Orenbourgh; every one of them, with all the camels besides, were killed. Besides that, he made a claim on Colonel Sheil for one hundred and twenty tomauns, which I learnt from different quarters he had received from Major Todd; and I learnt afterwards that he was of the party who frightened my servant (Rajab) from accompanying me to Bokhara. Nothing could induce this man to move beyond Mowr. He would have left me at Meshed, as I have mentioned, but with great reluctance on his part followed me to Mowr: further than this he would not move, and evidently looked on me as a lost man. The other servant of Stoddart, when at Heraut—who is also in my service—told me, quite gravely, that he received once two thousand stripes by order of the king of Persia, for having served the British officers who were at Heraut during the siege of Heraut. How difficult it is to find out the truth in such a country of lies! The Assaff-ood-Dowla is very anxious to march against Bokhara, and take it. He is confident that he could take Bokhara in less than half an hour.

The Assaff is really a great man; he has brought by his

prudent conduct, the greatest number of Türkomauns under his sway. The Japow, or plundering expedition of the Türkomauns into Khorassaun, is through him in a great degree abolished. He has erected caravanserays and other buildings. There he keeps and maintains now the Shah Zadeh of Affghanistaun, in order to check, by continual fear, Yar Muhammed Khan, of Heraut, who killed Kamran Shah one year ago. But I felt very angry with him, for he might have sent me away sooner if he had not kept me on account of the man whom he sent to Bokhara thirty days ago; five months ago, also, Sheil sent an extra gholam to urge him to send one on to Bokhara, but that delay did not happen by his fault, but by the fault of Stoddart's agent. Now, however, he expects back the man who went thirty days since, but I am determined to go away next Tuesday, *i. e.* to-morrow. I have already bought four horses, victuals, &c. However, as a precaution, I determined to write to Colonel Sheil, that he should send on a man to Meshed, with an order from the Shah to send me on immediately.

The trouble that Dil Assa Khan occasioned me is almost inconceivable. Though ordered by the Assaff-ood-Dowla to accompany me with the armed men to Bokhara; though letters were given to him for the king of Bokhara, the chief Türkomauns of Sarakhs, and the Khaleefa of Mowr, the spiritual head of the Türkomauns, writing to all that they should take good care of me, for Persia, England, Russia, and Turkey would otherwise call them to account,—all had little influence on this fellow. His dread of Behadur Khan seemed as unmitigated as his cupidity. I was obliged to pay him a hundred tomauns in advance to begin. The Assaff-ood-Dowla next charged him with presents to the king of Bokhara, and gave him orders to leave Meshed on the 26th. He made, however, constant excuses, and at last sent me on with one of his men to Canakoosha, twelve miles from Meshed. Mullah Mehdee, the Jew, also accompanied me. Late in the

evening a letter arrived there for me from Dil Assa Khan, telling me that the Assaff-ood-Dowla wished me to sit in a *kejaweh* during the journey, or what they call at Cairo a *shebrea*, in order not to attract too much the notice of the Türkomauns, and to take beside another camel for water. I saw at once into this contrivance on his part to extort more money from me. I therefore sent Mullah Mehdee with a letter to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, telling him that I was ready to hire a camel with a *kejaweh*, and also another camel, but that I hoped his Excellency would order Dil Assa Khan to make no further delay; if not, I would go back, and proceed *viâ* Russia to Bokhara. A kind letter arrived from the Assaff-ood-Dowla, and I had taken the two camels in order to avoid delay; but still Dil Assa Khan came not until the 30th to Nazarieh, four miles from Canakoosha, and even then he wanted to stay some days more, until I positively ordered my servants to make ready for returning to Meshed.

March 31st. We at last entered fairly the desert, and encamped on the plain, covered with shrubs, called Jehaar Gunbaz. Dil Assa Khan so annoyed me with incessant demands for money, that I sent on secretly Mullah Mehdee, who had accompanied me so far, with a letter to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, desiring him to send me another companion in my route. Meanwhile I steadily refused Dil Assa Khan's demands.

Monday, April 1st. We arrived at Rabat Mahal, a desert place, where I pitched my tent. The water here is very salt. On the 2nd of April a horseman came in all haste behind us, calling out "Stop, stop!" We stopped, and the horseman was sent after us from the Assaff-ood-Dowla, with a letter from him for myself and Dil Assa Khan. His Excellency wrote to Dil Assa Khan,—"I will ruin you and your family if you ask one single (derahem) farthing from my friend Joseph Wolff, and do not discharge well your business." And to me he wrote, that to Sarakhs I should not part from the caravan; and at Sarakhs I should take on with me, beside

Dil Assa Khan, also four Tūrkomauns and ten from Mowr, where I am already announced by the two hundred Tūrkomaun chiefs. Dil Assa Khan is now very humble and submissive.

We arrived at Masteroon, a fortress built upon the height of the mountain, in order to watch the movements of the Tūrkomauns of Sarakhs, and to prevent them from plundering the caravans; fifty artillerymen are on this account placed here with some cavalry by the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The chief of those soldiers came to my tent. I made him a present of a loaf of bread; he observed, other Saheboon (a name given to English gentlemen) made him always a present of some tomauns. I replied, "that a mullah's bread is blessed." He was quiet.

On the 3rd of April we arrived at Karagosh, 'black strait,' for the water is black here between two straits, and very salt.

On the 4th of April we passed the desert place of Abe-Sherok, on route to Gonbazli, twenty miles from Sarakhs. Here I had nothing left to eat but dates and bread, and rain-water to drink. I had with me, up to this point, Rajab and Mullah Seffee, the Jew, who served Conolly and Stoddart,—the first time when at Khiva, the second when at Bokhara. He was also with Todd at Heraut. I cannot enough impress upon the minds of the English people the necessity of sending an English gentleman by birth to Meshed; for though Mullah Mehdee is very useful, still he needs the surveillance of an English gentleman, and the agent of Stoddart, Muhammed Ali Serraf, is a most contemptible fellow.

On the 5th of April (Friday), we arrived at Gonbazli, three farsakhs (twelve miles) from the former: nothing but a well in the desert, and very salt. On the 6th of April (Saturday) slept again in the desert. We crossed the Derya Sarakhs (river of Sarakhs), which comes from Heraut. On the 7th we arrived at the camp of Nafas Beyk, who lives twenty-four miles from Old Sarakhs, a ruin since Abbas

Mirza came there accompanied by Borowsky. Nafas Beyk treated me hospitably, for which he expected a khelat: I gave him a Tūrkomaun shirt. Monday, the 8th of April, we left the camp of Nafas Beyk, but lost our way in the desert, as the sky was very foggy, and only found it again on the 9th of April, (Tuesday).

To-day (10th of April, Wednesday) we made twenty-four miles, and are in a desert place, where there is a Hausee-khan —a house of water made by a khan. I was now sixty miles from Merve, and three hundred miles from Bokhara. I received yesterday a letter from Mullah Mehdee, sent from Meshed by a Tūrkomaun on purpose, enclosing a letter from Yar Muhammed Khan, governor of Heraut, who promised his powerful influence to me with the king of Bokhara. The king of Bokhara intends to march against Khiva; it is therefore probable that I shall meet him to-morrow at Merve, or, after a few days, at Jehaar-Joo.

I was bothered every day to death by my companion Dil Assa Khan, the man of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, for presents, which I firmly refused. I arrived safely, April 12th, at Mowr, and was received very hospitably by Abd Arrahman, the khaleefa of Khiva and Bokhara. Nathan, and other Jews who knew me twelve years ago when in this place, immediately called on me, and we talked over old times. I may safely say that I was, in the year 1831, the only Englishman known in the desert of Mowr, but now the names of Stoddart, Conolly, Shakespeare (who is called Sheikh-Sefeer), Abbott, Todd, Riach, and Thomson, are mentioned with respect and regard, and the whole nation is admired; so that Lord Palmerston ought to have the thanks of Britain for having invaded Affghanistaun, for even in Affghanistaun they think now with affection of England and Englishmen. Abd Arrahman, my host, is a venerable old Tūrkomaun, worthy of his office; a man without many words, without covetousness, given to prayer, and a friend of hospitality. Conolly stopped

in his house when going from Cabūl to Khiva. One of his sons knew Major Todd well; if the British government in India could be aware how highly respected Todd rendered the English name throughout Tūrkistaun, they would not have sent him back to his regiment. The name, and liberality and kindness of Todd resound through the desert of Tūrkistaun; and thus is Riach respected, and the above-named gentlemen; only Stoddart is described as a *brave* but *rough* man *universally;* Conolly as *a man of religion.*

The above-mentioned khaleefa Abd Arrahman told me positively that Stoddart was alive, but in prison; about Conolly he was not quite certain. The Jew, Nathan, believed them to be dead, but had his accounts from the Akhund-Zadeh, Saleh Muhammed, Colonel Sheil's informant. Rain, slowness of the camels, wind of the desert, occasional want of water, mistaking the road on cloudy days, were all causes for unexpected delays. Beside this, the country is in a warlike condition. The Tūrkomauns here in Mowr, or Merve, lately rebelled against Khiva, and killed their governor, so that they may expect every moment an invasion of the army of Khiva. There are two parties here and at Sarakhs, some tribes holding with Bokhara, the others with Khiva. I found Captain Grover quite right; Stoddart *was* sent by Sir John McNeill, but Conolly was also an *accredited agent,* for he was sent by Sir W. Macnaghten to Bokhara to liberate Stoddart.

A letter from Bruges reached me here in seventy-five days. Ghersi's account about Stoddart was erroneous, for Abdul Samut Khan is a Persian at Bokhara, head of the artillery, but is erroneously believed by many to be an Englishman, or Feringhee. In this remarkable place (Mowr) there is an equally remarkable man; I allude to the Khaleefa of the Tūrkomauns.

Providence does appear in a most wonderful manner to operate by the most singular causes to restrain the wickedness of men. The Tūrkomauns of the desert of Mowr and Sarakhs are a people of such a perfidious disposition, and of such great

rapacity, that one could not depend for a moment on their promises, or on any treaties entered into with them; for the Tūrkomauns, as well as the Beduins in the deserts of Arabia, do not consider consequences, but are only restrained by instant infliction of punishment: and therefore no caravan could ever dream of passing through the deserts of Mowr, Sarakhs, and Rafitak, if there was not one man in that desert who knew how to restrain the Tūrkomauns. This man is the great derveesh, who has the title of Khaleefa, or successor of the Prophet, and is addressed by the royal epithet of Hasrat, *i. e.* Majesty, and to whom are paid all the honours due to royalty by the Tūrkomauns. His blessing they invoke previous to their going on any expedition, and to him they give the tenth of all their spoil. He receives all the caravans under his protection, and shows hospitality to all the wanderers. His blessing is the most ardent desire of the Tūrkomauns, and his curse their deepest dread. He inculcates among them the rites of hospitality, and tells them that Abraham was honoured with the visit of angels, as a reward from God for his hospitality. Even the kings of Bokhara, Khiva, Khotan, and Khokand, and even the governor of Yarkand in Chinese Tartary, send him presents, and give him the title of King. His name is Abd Arrahman, 'Slave of the merciful God;' for, on the day of his birth, the merciful God sent rain over the desert, after it had not rained for a long time,—such is his gifted nativity in the mind of these simple-minded people. He has a son, whose name is Kereem Werde, which means, 'The bountiful God has given;' for after God had only given daughters to the Khaleefa, He at last bountifully added a son to his family. This is the man sent by Providence to keep the Tūrkomauns in order to a certain degree. I say to a certain degree, for he himself encourages them to fight and spoil the Sheeahs, which he tells them is more acceptable to God than the performances of pilgrimages to Mecca or to Masaur, near Balkh, where Alī's camel ascended to heaven.

Several years ago the king of Khiva had forced upon the Tūrkomauns of Mowr a governor, who resided in the castle of Mowr, with 600 Khivites. The Tūrkomauns conspired against him, and slew him and several hundred of the Khivites. About three hundred took refuge in the house of the khaleefa Abd Arrahman. The Tūrkomauns rushed to his house, and asked him furiously to deliver up to their vengeance the rest of the Khivites; but he boldly came out of his house and said, "First you must put to death your Khaleefa, and then those unfortunate men who took refuge under my roof." The infuriated Tūrkomauns retired, and during the night-time he escorted the remnant of the Khivites out of the desert of Mowr, until they were safe from being pursued by the Tūrkomauns.

During my stay at Mowr, a company of dancing derveeshes arrived from Yarkand, who stripped themselves and danced about until they sank down to the ground. The son of the khaleefa, seeing them dance about thus, stripped himself also, and danced about with them. The coincidence in the method of naming his children, and of these wild rites, with some passages in Scripture, cannot but strike my readers. I adduce one in corroboration of the latter: "And he stripped off his clothes also, and prophesied before Samuel in like manner, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?'" 1 Sam. xix. 24.

The chiefs of the Tūrkomauns came from all parts, and said to me loudly,—"Write to your king of England, that if he gives us a good sum of money, we will assist him in sending an army to Bokhara, in order that he may punish the king of Bokhara for having put to death Stoddart Saib and Conolly Saib; for we Tūrkomauns do not mind who governs those countries of Bokhara and Khiva, whether Behadur Khan, or England, or Russia, if we only get *khelats* (robes of honour) and *tillahs*, *i. e.* ducats. We

are now sorely pressed by Khiva, for we have slain the governor, and the Kajar, *i.e.* Persia, cannot be trusted; and therefore we shall at last go nearer to the Russian territory, where they have built a castle. A pity it is that the Kasaks and Khirgiz and the snow have prevented the Russians from marching towards Khiva, for we would have assisted them in spoiling and killing the people of Khiva."

The khaleefa also told me, "If you wish to go to Bokhara, I will send on a Tūrkomaun to Bokhara, and recommend you to the king there previous to your proceeding hence; yet I do not advise you to go, for I thought, at first, that Conolly was alive, but I am mistaken,—he is dead, and it is quite a different person who is now with Abdul Samut Khan. Youssuff Wolff, you are derveesh like myself; permit me to save you, and to be instrumental to your escape to the Tūrkomauns of Akhaul, who will bring you to Astarabad, whence you may proceed to Khiva. Do not go to Bokhara." I replied, "To Bokhara I must go." The khaleefa therefore wrote letters to the governor of Jehaar-Joo, and to the king of Bokhara, mentioning to them that I was a holy man, and came accompanied by Dil Assa Khan, a man of the Assaff-ood-Dowla; but that Dil Assa Khan designed to betray me, but he (the khaleefa) exhorted his Majesty the Ameer of Bokhara to treat me well.

I think that it might be of the highest importance and beneficial consequences, if the British government would charge their ambassador at Teheraun to enter into a friendly correspondence with the Khaleefa of Mowr, and send him presents from time to time. He requested me to write to Colonel Sheil, that he should intercede with the king of Persia in behalf of four Tūrkomauns, who were kept as slaves by the king's mother, in order that they might be set free again. I wrote to Colonel Sheil, but I received no answer about them. He also wished me to write to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, in whose hands there were twenty Tūrkomaun prisoners, that he should

release them. I wrote to this effect to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, and he promised to do so.

The Jews who reside at Mowr, and are either from Heraut or Meshed, are great favourites with the khaleefa; and some of those who were forced to become Mussulmans at Meshed, exercise again the Jewish religion at Mowr.

Nathan, the above-mentioned old Jew, called on me one day with a derveesh, from Kashgar. The derveesh from Kashgar observed, "Youssuff Wolff, who is the author of the fire and water?"

W. God.

Derveesh. No such thing! Satan is the author of both; for fire and water are destructive materials, and therefore it is impossible that God could be the author of them. And you ought to know that there are two gods,—one is God of the world above, who is a good God, who created the light which does not burn, and who created the rose and the nightingale; but a battle took place between God above and God below; and the God below marred all the creatures of God above; and this is a fight which still goes on. Men who act well are servants of the God above, and his creatures. Men who act badly are the servants of the God below. There shall be another battle fought, when the God below shall ascend to the seventh heaven with myriads of his soldiers; flying serpents shall soar up with him: but the God below shall be defeated, and at last shall become a humble subject of the God above!

I then read with the derveesh and Nathan the Jew, Revelation xii., and showed to them how far Scripture agrees with them, and how far not. I then said, "All that is, is the work of God—of that God who is above, and who is the Creator of heaven and earth, and of Adam and Eve; and after He had overlooked all things that He had made, He pronounced every thing to be good. But Satan, in the garb of a serpent, and who is called by the apostle the God of this

world, beguiled Eve, and she her husband, and thus evil came into the world. And as where tyranny prevails the country becomes a desert, thus the world and men therein became corrupt; but *Jesus*, the *Word of God*, who descended from heaven and was born of Mary, came to the world below to unite again the *Creator* with the *creature:* and to effect this great work, He showed his love to the creatures by giving his life for them, but took it again after three days. He gained by that first act a great many followers of all nations, and those countries which follow Him are therefore better, and the inhabitants thereof better, than those who do not follow him; but a combat is still going on between God and Satan—between the followers of the one and the other—the seed of the serpent and the woman's seed, and will be carried on until Jesus the Meseeh, *i. e.* Christ, shall return with ten thousands of his saints amidst the sound of the trumpet and the shout of archangels, and the rising of those dead people who became martyrs for the sake of the religion of Jesus. And then Satan shall also be killed, who, though called 'God,' is not an eternal God, but was a created angel, who remained not faithful to his Creator; and then Jesus shall erect his throne at Jerusalem, and there shall be a communication between the inhabitants on earth and the inhabitants in heaven, and angels shall ascend up to God and descend upon Jesus his Son."

This same Nathan requested me to give him an account of the English woman, Esther by name, who pretended that she was to marry the Messiah at the day of his coming. This report of Lady Hester Stanhope was widely circulated.

At the request of the Khaleefa, I addressed to Captain Grover the following letter:

Desert of Merve or Mowr, 12th April, 1844.

My dear Grover, and to the whole Committee!

I now write to you at the request of the Khaleefa or spiritual guide of all the Türkomauns throughout the Desert, and even the spiritual guide of the kings of Bokhara, Khiva, Khokand, Tash-

kand, and Shahr-Sabz, who has the title Majesty *(Hasrat)*; I am his guest. He entered just now my room, and showed to me a letter, in which he wrote to the king of Bokhara that it was of the highest importance to deliver up the strangers to me, (*i. e.* Stoddart and Conolly,) and to make reparations for the insult to England, and not to keep me longer than three days at Bokhara. This letter was despatched by an express Türkomaun on horseback, who will arrive in three days, and three days before me.

His Majesty also sends with me one of his own relations and disciples, to introduce me properly to the king of Bokhara, and ten Türkomauns as far as Jehaar-Joo, the first town belonging to Bokhara.

He desired me, therefore, to express to the Queen his ardent desire to become a sincere friend to the British nation, and that he accompanies this request with the following petition: One year ago Raheem Dad Beyk, chief of the Hazāra, made twenty prisoners of the Türkomauns of Mowr, and sold them as slaves to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, who will not deliver them up, though the Khaleefa restored to the Assaff eight Persian slaves in his possession. He (the Khaleefa) requests, therefore, the Queen or the Vizier of England to intercede for the twenty Türkomauns to the Assaff at Meshed, in order that the twenty Türkomaun slaves may be restored to liberty, as he has not the thousand tomauns demanded for them in his possession. I promised to his Majesty to write to Lord Aberdeen, and also through you and the Committee to the Society for the Abolition of Slavery. Give your assistance in this affair, and Britain's name will be greater than ever in the desert of Türkistaun.

In six days it will be decided whether Stoddart and Conolly are alive, or whether I shall be allowed to leave the town again. In six days I shall enter Bokhara.

Pray for your affectionate friend,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

While here, I cannot express how much pleased I felt with the diligence and attention of Mullah Mehdee. My letters of the date of the 3rd of February reached me even here by the kindness of Colonel Sheil and this valuable agent; but had Mullah Muhammed Ali Serraf been the medium, the villain would have kept them from me, possibly for a year.

Yar Muhammed, the present governor of Heraut, wrote most strongly, I was told, to the king of Bokhara in my behalf.

The Assaff-ood-Dowla has behaved most handsomely during my whole connexion with him; but Dil Assa Khan frustrated all his benevolent purposes in every possible way.

The sensation created at Bokhara by the letter of Lord Ellenborough I learnt was extraordinary. The Khan expected a direct communication from the Queen, and was greatly irritated by not receiving it.

The desert here even, I repeat, rings with the names of Todd, Riach, Shakespeare, Thomson. From the Affghanistaun war the English name is now known, respected, admired, and even loved among the Tūrkomauns. The children of the desert speak of the English as the noblest sons of the earth.

Notwithstanding all this, which raised encouraging sensations, I could not but feel that I was about to place myself wholly unprotected in the hands of a despotic monarch, of more than ordinary cruelty even for an Eastern dynasty; one who had probably put to death many of my countrymen, as well protected as myself. I committed myself, therefore, as all should do in perilous circumstances, to the keeping of God's good providence, which had so wonderfully sustained me previously, and which I trusted would yet preserve me for better things. In anticipation of the worst, I sent the following letter to Lady Georgiana:

Merve or Mowr, 14th April, 1844.

My dearest and most beloved Georgiana,

I set out after two hours from here for Bokhara. The Khaleefa of Mowr has behaved most excellently towards me; he has sent one of his own disciples with me to Bokhara. Be of good spirits, my dearest Georgiana, for all that may happen to me there *is of the Lord.* I go there *without much apprehension.* I often think of you and dear Henry, and pray pardon me, both of you, if I have ever uttered an unkind word; I love both of you more than myself. All the Tūrkomauns behave very respectfully to me.

Your most loving husband,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

At Mowr, Nizam Oolmulk, the great vizier of Malek Shah, of the Seljuck dynasty, established a school; and since that time, as the Tūrkomauns assured me, a school is kept up, and even now, the sons of the great Khaleefa keep a school at Merw, in which they instruct the children in the Arabic and Persian tongues. I must here observe that it is remarkable, that wherever celebrated schools have existed in ancient time among the Eastern people, they would consider it a sin to give them up. It is thus invariably among the Muhammedans, the Guebres, and the Jews. I instance, first, that at Mowr already mentioned; though a desert, a school is kept there, on account of its antiquity. At Bassora, in the Persian Gulf, though destroyed, the school is not given up; at Bagdad the same; and even the Arabs around Kūfa have a school; and Teman or Yemen, where knowledge did not cease in the time of Jeremiah, to this day has celebrated schools,—Zubeyd, Sanaa, Hodeydah, and Loheyah. And, with regard to the Jews, I shall only mention that in the city of Safet, where the great Simon Ben Yohaaye, the compiler of the book of Zohar, and the other compilers of the Talmud, lived, a famous school is still existing. At Yazd, in Persia, formerly the seat of Parsee learning, the ancient Parsee language is still taught.

At Merw, all those Jews who have been constrained to embrace Muhammedanism in other parts of Persia, are permitted to return to their ancient usages and religion. But it is a remarkable fact, that there are some Jews at Mowr who have professed the Muhammedan religion and become Tūrkomauns; and that there are Jews at Khiva, of whom I was told at Mowr, who, though remaining Jews, have intermarried with the Usbecks. And is it not striking, that Jews have received the most powerful protection among the wild inhabitants of the desert? Thus Jews, who are tyrannized over at Bokhara and Persia, fly to the inhabitants of the desert, at Mowr, Sarakhs, Akhaul, and to the Hazārah in Affghanistaun. And this

is even the case in Morocco, where they often fly from the tyranny of the Emperor to the inhabitants of the desert at Tafilla-Leth. And in Mesopotamia they escape from Bagdad and Mosul to the wild Yeseede, in the mountains of Sunjar.

Here, before I proceed further, I have a few words to say on the campaigns of Ghengis Khan in those regions. Ghengis Khan was attacked by Jelaal-Oodeen, the son of Allahdeen Muhammed, king of Organtsh or Khiva. The great Ghengis Khan therefore marched from the city of Tūrkistaun or Hazrat Sultaun, first to Khokand, Khodjand, Samarcand, Bokhara, Peykand, Jesmaan-Doo, Allat, Jehaar-Joo, Rafitak; thence to the borders of the Caspian, in the land of Khorassaun.

This leads me now to speak on the question agitated so much in England, Will the Russians be able to march towards India from that road? Having so many people, as Macdonald Kinneir and others, against me, who consider it improbable, and being devoid of military knowledge, I may not be considered a competent authority; but, despite of this, I must give my decided opinion, that I believe that the Russians can march with great ease through those countries. It will be asked, Why were they not able to do so in 1838 and 1839, when they intended to march against Khiva? I answer, that in order not to involve themselves in war with the kings of Khokand, Bokhara, and Shahr-Sabz, they intended to make the whole route through the desert from Orenbourg to Khiva. Probably they also did so to show England that they had no design on Bokhara and Khokand, but only to get redress for the insults they received from Khiva. But if once they determined to make themselves masters of those countries, nothing is more easy than for them to march from the frontiers of Russia to the city of Hazarat Sultaun, or Tūrkistaun. Hence to Khokand, and, with a few thousand troops, insure Samarcand and Bokhara; and the people, disaffected as they are with their respective governments, will not fire a shot. Nothing can resist in these countries a well-disciplined artillery and cavalry;

and the body of the army may march to Khokand, to Cashgar, and Cashmeer, and thence come down to Lahore and India. Not one shot would be fired, for the people of Cashmeer would receive them with open arms, and at Lahore the British army would meet them, and then the strongest would have it. And also there, much will depend upon whether the people of the Punjaub are affected or disaffected to England. Or they may go from Khokand to Kondus and Khoollom, thence to But-Bamian; and if they keep friends and promise liberty to the Guzl-Bash from the yoke of Dost Muhammed Khan and Akbar Khan, they will obtain a powerful body of auxiliaries. And as the Guzl-Bash in Affghanistaun have been most shamefully abandoned by the British army after the retreat of Lord Ellenborough, they certainly will join the Russians.

I must also note, that the moment I heard that the English had invaded Affghanistaun, I wrote from High Hoyland, where I was the curate of the Reverend Christopher Bird, to Lord Hill, the Commander-in-Chief, and told him that if the English people did not keep a bright look out near Cabūl, they might be cut to pieces by the mountaineers. So it happened. But I say that, though I considered that whole war a gross act of imprudence, Lord Ellenborough ought to have ordered the troops to stop there five years after they had reconquered Cabūl and Ghuznee. The shout of the Affghaun nation at seeing the English return was, "These Englishmen are like birds flying in the air; nothing can be done with them. They are more dangerous after defeat than victory;—we must submit." The Guzl-Bash also would have taken fresh courage, and have stood by them to a man. Christianity might have been established among them, but by the sudden retreat the poor Guzl-Bash have been left a prey to the vindictiveness of the Affghauns. Meer-Ali-Nake, as his letter from Shakespeare proved to me, had assisted most gallantly the English people in retaking the prisoners at But-Bamian, in reward for which he is given over to beggary with thousands of other Guzl-Bash.

There is also a loud complaint all over Affghanistaun, that the English people did not behave well towards Nawaub Jabar Khan, brother to Dost Muhammed Khan, who was the greatest friend to the English before the war; so much so, that even to this moment Dost Muhammed Khan frequently asks him in a joking manner,—"Now, brother, how are your friends the English going on?" It must, however, be confessed, that nevertheless the name of the Englishman is respected all over Affghanistaun and Khorassaun, as already said, and many of the Saddoo-Szeyes still expect to regain their throne by the influence of England.

It must also be observed, that the Russians have now steamers in the Caspian Sea, and have built a fortress on the shore, not far from Khiva, where they can easily land troops; no power can then prevent them from taking Khiva, and when once Khiva is in their possession, they may march to Balkh with the greatest ease: neither the Usbeck nor the Hazāra will dream of resisting the Russian army, and thus they may proceed towards India as above stated. The other way for the Russians to advance towards India is, to make an alliance with the Assaff-ood-Dowla after the death of the king, Muhammed Shah, and march with him through the land of the Hazāra, Maymona, and Ankhoy, towards Cabūl: for it must not be concealed, that the Assaff-ood-Dowla is more favourably disposed towards the Russian than the English government, for more attention is paid to him by the Russian than by the English, and he was especially displeased at his not receiving any answer to the letter which he sent through me to his Grace the Duke of Wellington; and it may be asserted with certainty, that all the members of the royal family in Persia are more inclined to Russia than to England, and almost all the people in authority, whilst the populace in general are more favourable to England; and I have not the least doubt, that one of the reasons for which the people in authority are offended at England is, the shabby presents they

get from the British government, at the suggestion of Colonel Sheil. As instances, I only mention these three facts: 1st. The Assaff-ood-Dowla twice sent to the king of Bokhara presents to the amount of five hundred tomauns,—once by Hassan-Baba, who was sent by the Assaff-ood-Dowla, eleven days before my arrival at Meshed, to Bokhara; and then by Dil Assa Khan, who accompanied me to Bokhara. To my great horror, after my return to Teheraun, Colonel Sheil told me that he had proposed to the British government to make a present of a watch to the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Again, Abbas Kouli Khan, who behaved so generously towards me, as I shall show, was also considered as adequately remunerated by a watch; but I am glad to learn that Government made him a present of a diamond ring, instead of the shabby present of a watch, as proposed by Colonel Sheil. 3rd. Colonel Sheil sent with me, as a present for the king of Bokhara, a silver watch and two pieces of cloth, both not worth more than six pounds, by which the king of Bokhara was exceedingly offended.

CHAPTER IX.

Departure from Mowr. Letter to Captain Grover. Ameer Sarog. Vile Conduct of Dil Assa Khan. First serious Apprehensions of the Death of Stoddart and Conolly. Mode of Capital Punishment altered at Bokhara from strangling to beheading. Dr. Wolff entertains serious Alarm for his own Safety—adopts Measures accordingly. Letters of Sultan and Sir Moses Montefiore never forwarded to Ameer by Muhammed Ali Serraf, by order of Colonel Sheil. Distant manner of Colonel Sheil disadvantageous to the British Interest in Persia. Khosrow Khan. Dr. Wolff makes up his mind to die. Letter from Kalja in the Desert to his Friends—Writes from this place to the "Philanthropists of Europe.' Fall of Snow. Conversations in the Desert with Türkomauns—Their account of Timur Kurikan. Timur's Pyramid of Skulls—Love of Truth—Bodily Strength—Inflexible Character—Death—believed by the Jews of his time, from his warlike Character, to be the Messiah. Nadir Shah. *Route:* Rafitak. Dr. Wolff escapes Death from an incursion of the Khivites—his Death reported. Jehaar-Joo. Silly Conduct of Ameer Sarog—his Wish to add a fourth Wife to his Harem resisted by the other three. Dr. Wolff robbed by Dil Assa Khan and his Followers. Shah Kamran. Yar Muhammed Khan—puts to Death his Sovereign Shah Kamran—his treacherous Conduct to Dr. Wolff—sends three Ambassadors to the Ameer of Bokhara, requesting the Ameer to put Dr. Wolff to death, but affects to be well disposed to him. Dil Assa Khan the Servant of this Yar Muhammed Khan. Dil Assa Khan had escaped from Yar Muhammed Khan, and became the Servant of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Letter from Dr. Wolff sent on from Jehaar-Joo to the Ameer of Bokhara. Visit from Jews of Bokhara—They warn Dr. Wolff of his Danger—recommend Flight to Organtsh, and tell him of the Death of Wyburd, Stoddart, and Conolly, and five other Englishmen. Derveesh tells him to proceed.

On April 14th I quitted the roof of the kind and excellent Khaleefa with great regret, and advanced into the desert twelve miles, where I indited the following epistle, as stealthily as I could, to Captain Grover:

In the Desert of Mowr, twelve miles from the house of the Khaleefa, in the tent of Ameer Sarog, April 15, 1844.

My dear Grover,

I left yesterday the house of the Khaleefa, where I wrote to you two days ago. I learnt here by my host, a very highly respectable Türkomaun, that the king of Bokhara took great offence that the Queen ordered the Governor-General of India to answer his letter. It is certain that no *public execution* of the officers has taken place; but it is also certain, that if they are alive, they are in the prison behind the harem of the king. I advance confidently towards Bokhara, and shall be at Jehaar-Joo, or Char-Joo, after two days. If the king does not stop me, in three days more I shall be in the capital. Should I find them alive,—well; if not, and should my head fall, exert then your powers for the ransoming of 200,000 Persian slaves in the kingdom of Bokhara. I cannot write much, for the Türkomauns sit near me on the ground. Merve is already subject to Bokhara, and in a few days a governor from Bokhara will be sent here.

J. Wolff.

April 15th. I passed a pleasant day in the tent of the Türkomaun Ameer Sarog. A most extraordinary fall of snow took place at this period. Dil Assa Khan grew worse and worse. Though sent by the Assaff-ood-Dowla to protect me against the extortions of the Türkomauns, I was obliged to call on them to protect me against him. Three couriers did that kind friend the Assaff-ood-Dowla send through the desert to threaten him, and to give him fair warning. If the Assaff-ood-Dowla catches him at any time, I would not give a *para* for his life. The Khaleefa of Mowr sent up with me also Ameer Sarog, his own relative, who was to proceed with me to the king of Bokhara. I began now to be for the first time under very serious apprehensions for Stoddart and Conolly. I found *they were not seen* at Bokhara by repeated inquiries, and the statement of Ghersi, the consul at Trebizond, that Samut Khan was Colonel Stoddart, was I found not correct. Samut Khan is a Persian, employed in the artillery, and called 'Frankee' by the people of Bokhara. I

found also the other European young man with him *was not Conolly*, but *Giovanni*, an Italian watch-maker, made prisoner by the king of Bokhara at Khokand, and brought to Bokhara. This Italian had turned Mussulman, which probably led some persons to believe him to be identical with Colonel Stoddart.

I could not, however, find any European or Asiatic that had witnessed the execution. All the other Europeans, as Youssuff Khan, had been publicly executed. I could not help thinking that there was another *poor Youssuff*, who might shortly share the fate of his more dignified predecessor. Strangling, I learnt also, was abandoned by the present king—that was one comfort, for I have a strong antipathy to hanging —and slaughtering with a knife substituted in its room. This was not the case when I was *first* at Bokhara. In this respect alone is Saleh Muhammed right in his circumstances. In the event of any thing happening to me, I wrote, knowing *that alone* would be efficacious, to my wife, to say that nothing short of her Majesty's sign-manual to a letter to the king of Bokhara could save me. The Ameer evidently viewed it as a deadly affront that the letter he wrote by Stoddart to the Queen was not answered by a communication with her Majesty's sign-manual affixed to it. I also wrote to request my friends to obtain a similar letter from the Emperor of Russia. I further pressed on them not to forward any letter from the Queen to the king of Bokhara by Meshed, for Mullah Mehdee might not be there when it arrived, and the Persian Muhammedan agents were either cowards or rascals; but to send it to the care of the British ambassador at St. Petersburgh, who might recommend it to the charge of Count Nesselrode, to transmit it *viâ* Orenbourg to Bokhara by a Cossack.

I knew, if it fell into the hands of Muhammed Ali Serraf, my death would be certain; since I found, as I have mentioned, in the possession of that villain the identical letter written by the Sultan, two years ago, to the king of Bokhara, and also another from Sir Moses Montefiore to the Jews of

Meshed. When I asked him why the letters were not sent on by an express, he said "Here are Colonel Sheil's letters, in which he tells me not to send them on by an express, but at a convenient opportunity." I am at a loss to guess the motives of Colonel Sheil. Perhaps Muhammed Ali Serraf might have given him intimations of which I am not aware, which influenced him to this singular course. It must also be observed that Colonel Sheil was not an ambassador, but simply chargé d'affaires; by which he found himself possibly not enabled to act at his own discretion, but from instructions from the British government. It gives me particular pain to utter one word of censure of Colonel Sheil, who received me most kindly at Teheraun; but I must, from a regard to truth, state, that his retired and distant manner operates as a check to the Persians, and even Europeans, in their approaches to him. It is quite different from what I witnessed at Teheraun from Sir Henry Willock in 1825, and from Sir John Campbell and Sir John Mc Neill in 1831. At that time the British embassy was the rendezvous of the great men of Persia; but now it is, as the French gentlemen in Persia expressed themselves, "l'Ermitage des Anglais." In illustration, I supply the following anecdote.

Khosrow Khan, one of the chief eunuchs of the king of Persia, whom I had frequently seen in the company of Sir Henry Willock and Sir John Mc Neill, called on me at the last visit but one to Teheraun, when I was on my way to Bokhara. On his leaving me, just as he was going out of the house, he looked back and said, "Oh, here formerly my friends Willock Saib, Ouseley Saib, Mc Neill Saib, Campbell Saib, were living; and then I considered the British embassy my home, but now I am a stranger here." Two things may be said in defence of Colonel Sheil: 1st. He is exceedingly bilious, and has frequent attacks of gout, which may preclude conventionality. 2nd. The present prime-minister, Haje Mirza Agasee, is very jealous of the English, and does not

like Persians to visit the British embassy; but this is also the case with the Russian embassy, yet I saw constantly the latter filled with Persians, while the former was deserted.

I also admonished all my friends to bear my death, should it happen, as the will of God, and that no doubt good effects would spring from it; for I should die in the full belief of His all holy Son Jesus, and in joyful hope of a resurrection of the just.

I wrote these brief notices to them under a tent, and, having no writing paper, on the slips of my memorandum-book, at a desert place called Kalja, between Mowr and Jehaar-Joo, a hundred miles in advance in the kingdom of Bokhara, April 16th, 1844. I was then only a hundred and eighty miles from the dangerous capital of Bokhara's king.

At this place I was accompanied by a caravan, composed of people from Bokhara, Khokand, Tashkand, and Heraut. At Kalja I received a present of a lamb from the Jew Mullah Seffey, and had the pleasure of sending back by the Türkomaun that brought it, the communications alluded to with the beloved of my beloved and adopted country, England, and also the following letter:

To the Philanthropists of Europe.

(Sent from Mowr.)

My dear Friends!

I am now proceeding to Bokhara, from which city I am only seven days distant. Soon it will be decided whether Stoddart and Conolly, and also Cavalière Naselli, are dead. The general report in the Desert of Mowr is, that they have been executed, and the Türkomauns assured me that I should share a similar fate, and they advised me therefore to go to Khiva; but I am determined to proceed as long as there is the least probability of finding them alive, or perhaps some other Europeans. Should my head fall, it falls for a good cause, and Christians ought to be ready to lay down their lives for the brethren, as Christ did. I do not call on you to avenge my death, in case that you should hear that my head has been struck off; but remember one thing,—that 200,000 Persian slaves are sighing in the kingdom of Bokhara.

Philanthropists of Europe! make one grand attempt, in ransoming them, to carry at the same time the light of pure religion and civilization to the land of Timur and Ghengis Khan; and my bones in the grave shall shout that I was thus the humble instrument in rousing you, Philanthropists of Europe, to carry your benevolent exertions from Europe to the Oxus.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

There fell at Kalja an unusual quantity of snow, which prevented us from stirring out that day. This was a remarkable occurrence in the month of April in these regions. A Tūrkomaun in the tent showed to me a whole bag of Greek and Arabic coins. It is remarkable to hear these Tūrkomauns speak of the exploits of Alexander and Timur, exactly as if of modern occurrence. One of the Tūrkomauns, striking upon the ground with his hand, said, "Here it was that Timur the Kurikan was born, (as Tamerlane is called there). Timur Kurikan passed here to punish the Khan of Kharasm, *i. e.* Organtsh, and how severely did he punish him! He made a pyramid at Organtsh entirely of skulls of men, cemented with clay. He spared the lives of none, except those of holy derveeshes, of the learned, and of poets, around whose houses he placed Karawl, *i. e.* guards. He was nine times in the desert of Mowr; nine times he returned in triumph to Samarcand. He had white hair from his childhood, and by his strength of body he could have slain a Rustam; and was endued with such a strength of mind, that he never wept. He so much loved the truth, that when some person told him a lie with the intention of pleasing him, he cut him to pieces; and when a person told him a truth, though disagreeable, he rewarded him with gold. At the death of his son, whom he tenderly loved, he lifted up his eye towards heaven, and said the word of the *Koran*, 'We are of God, and to God we shall return.'" Then another Tūrkomaun turned to me, and said, "He also came on to your country, Joseph Wolff, (*i. e.* the land of Room, Turkey,) where he made a prisoner of Bayazid, and brought him in a cage to Samarcand. He was

only once wounded, and this was in the country of Sistan, which made him lame, and for which reason he received the name of Timur-Lank, *i. e.* Timur the Lame. The gardens which he made at Samarcand were innumerable, and his court was filled with the learned from the country of Ghatay, with the fakeers of Hindūstaun, and with the scholars from Room. Jews and Guebres, Cossacks and the inhabitants of the land of Russ, became his guests. The man was born at Shar-Sabz, and was on his way to Ghatay to conquer the whole land of Cheen-Pa-Cheen, when Fate decreed otherwise. He died at Atraw, but he is buried at Samarcand, in a splendid tomb." Mullah Seffey, the Jew present, said, "Our ancestors, whom he much loved, and for which he was rewarded by God with so much power, believed him to be the Messiah; and when he returned to Samarcand, they went to meet him with the Sepher Torah in their hands, and palms in the other; and we sang, 'We beseech Thee, O Lord, save us! We beseech Thee, O Lord, we beseech Thee, O Lord, prosper us!'"

Then one of the derveeshes present in the tent began to speak about Nadir Shah, the son of a pelisse-maker, who became mighty in battle, and a tiger in war. He was at Mowr, and marched towards Hind. He sent six thousand people on to Rafitak to dig wells. He had numbered the number of Tūrkomauns, and a regular census of the inhabitants was established in every country he traversed. The tribe of Salor, in the camp of Yolatan, (six miles from Mowr,) were his great friends, and he gave sums of gold to the Tūrkomauns; on which account they assisted him in his march. And one of the other Tūrkomauns said, "Thus the English must do, as Nadir Shah did; when they want to conquer Khiva and Bokhara, they must feed us Tūrkomauns. We care not who rules; we are always with the stronger party."

From Kalja we arrived at Rafitak. We were three days without water until we arrived there. There are in this place

four wells; two wells with bitter water, and two wells with sweet, but they are extremely deep, full forty feet, which the Tūrkomauns fill up with sand and stone. When we approached Rafitak, we heard from some stragglers the fearful rumour that the people of Khiva were in the neighbourhood, and marching with six thousand men towards Merw. When Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, my Tūrkomaun companions, heard this report, they said, "Allah, Allah, Allah! this will make the tents of Merw tremble;" which reminded me of the words in Habakkuk, "The tents of Kushan tremble." But fortunately the Khivites did not come that day, but came to Rafitak two days after, and smote the caravan that succeeded ours; and I heard after, in a letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla, which I received at Bokhara, that the rumour had spread throughout Khorassaun that I had been killed by the people of Khiva, which had induced his Highness to send an express courier to Sarakhs, to ascertain the truth of that report.

From this place, annoyed with every inconvenience that the knavery of Dil Assa Khan could throw in my way, I reached Jehaar-Joo. Besides all this, I was both amused and annoyed by that fool and knave Ameer Sarog,—so named because he was born on the same day as the former Ameer of Bokhara. That silly fellow, though above sixty years of age, was daily weeping and lamenting his disappointment in love. He said, "I have three wives, and I wish to have a fourth; and I could have succeeded in marrying her, if my other wives had not intrigued, and if the parents of that beautiful woman had not demanded such a sum for her. I at last shall be obliged to hang myself." This horrid fellow murdered a merchant in his house, and robbed him of all his property. Dil Assa Khan, and the villains that accompanied him, took from me by force the tea and sugar and provisions which I had brought with me from Meshed, and sold them to the people of the caravan. They compelled me to give them

money for purchasing sheep and other victuals, which they pocketed. From Sarakhs I sent another Tūrkomaun expressly to the Assaff-ood-Dowla to recall Dil Assa Khan. A second horseman reached us, after our arrival at Merwe, threatening Dil Assa Khan that the Assaff-ood-Dowla would destroy his house and imprison his family, if he did not behave better. His Excellency wrote that it was too late to recall him, and that he would be of great use to me at Bokhara, and sent me a copy of the letter he had written to him. This Dil Assa Khan being a Merwee and a Sunnee, the Assaff-ood-Dowla thought would be of use to me at Bokhara. These Merwees are a most villainous tribe, notorious even among Tūrkomauns for avarice, faithlessness, and treachery. They are very numerous in Bokhara, and are descendants of Ghengis Khan. This fellow, Dil Assa Khan, was in the service of Yar Muhammed Khan, who was the vizier of the king of Heraut, infamous in repute as a man-seller. I will now add a few particulars about his master, Yar Muhammed Khan.

Shah Kamran, of the Saddoo-Szeye, the royal dynasty of Affghanistaun, was king at Heraut. His vizier and factotum was Yar Muhammed Khan, an Affghaun, a man of extraordinary talent, but the worst of characters—a drunkard, a liar, and a slave-seller. Shah Kamran was an imbecile. When Muhammed Shah besieged Heraut, he courted the English government, and treated with great politeness Pottinger and D'Arcy Todd and Colonel Stoddart. But as soon as Muhammed Shah had raised the siege, he entered into a treaty with the Assaff-ood-Dowla at Meshed, and threatened D'Arcy Todd with death if he did not give him an immense sum of money. Only two years ago he most cruelly put to death his royal benefactor and master, Shah Kamran. He now spends his days and nights in revellings; and in order to make himself popular among the Affghauns at Heraut, he has permitted them to make and drink wine. Bands of dancing-girls dance before him whole days, and he has lately contracted an alliance

by marriage with Dost Muhammed Khan, the Ameer of Cabūl, and Kohandil Khan of Candahar. To give a further idea of his treacherous character, I just mention that he wrote to me a most polite letter, promising to despatch on my account an express ambassador to the Ameer of Bokhara, in order that his Majesty might send me back to my country with honour; instead of which, he sent three ambassadors to Bokhara advising the Ameer to put me to death. Now of this Yar Muhammed Khan, Dil Assa Khan was the servant. He had escaped from Muhammed Khan, and went over to the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The Assaff-ood-Dowla had taken him into his service and given him the village of Nazarieh for his possession, and made him there chief of the Merwee. Even with all this hold upon him, the rascality in his nature was so strong, that he was incessantly committing some act of villany; at one time hiring camels and charging them to me, at another a kajava or palanquin bound on the camel. Mullah Mehdee wanted to engage them, by way of check against him, of the Kafila Bashi, or caravan-leader; but Dil Assa Khan said the caravan would be too slow for us, and produced three camels of his own, for which I was obliged to pay double the price of camels. Eight Merwees, amid them a fellow named Ismael, that accompanied him, seemed to vie with each other in villany. At Mastron, sixty miles from Meshed, where a horseman reached me from the Assaff-ood-Dowla, and proved a momentary check on their rapacity, the instant after he had quitted, Dil Assa Khan and Ismael actually unloaded one of the camels where my baggage was, put it on one of the camels of the caravan-leader, with the promise to him that I should pay him for it, and loaded my camel, hired of Dil Assa Khan himself, with the merchandise of that villain.

I have mentioned that one of my servants, Rajab, expressed a fear at accompanying me beyond Mowr, and remained there. Hussein and Abdullah, however, followed me. The Khaleefa of Mowr had sent on two other Türkomauns with

me, of the tribe of Sarog. Both behaved exceedingly well on the journey through the desert, and the Tūrkomauns, against whom I had taken Dil Assa Khan as a protection, became a protection to me against him. Thus did we reach Jehaar-Joo, the first place in the Ameer of Bokhara's dominions.

Jehaar-Joo means 'four wells.' It was a place of considerable importance, with about 20,000 inhabitants, fourteen years ago. But the continued invasion and depredation of the people of Khiva has reduced the inhabitants to about two thousand, who live in continual consternation. They have a fortress,—a castle; but the Usbecks cannot make use of artillery, and the Ameer is afraid of sending Persian slaves thither who have learned the art of artillery under his lieutenant, Abdul Samut Khan. And he even would not trust Abdul Samut Khan by sending him to Jehaar-Joo, for fear of his being bribed by the Persians.

From that place I sent on a letter to the king of Bokhara, and delivered another to the governor of Jehaar-Joo, detailing the object of my mission.

To the most Powerful and Renowned Ameer of the Believers, the King of Bokhara, Ameer Nasir Ullah Behadur: God preserve him!

Be it known to your Majesty, that I, Joseph Wolff, am the well-known Derveesh of the Christians in England, who have traversed Syria, Persia, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Yemen, and Hindustaun; and have enjoyed the friendship of Muhammed Ali, Pasha of Egypt, the Sheikh Islam of Stamboul, Akbar Shah of Delhi, the Khaleefa of Mowr, Muhammed Shah Nakshbandee at Cashmeer, the great Moursheed of Tūrkistaun, of Abbas Mirza of Persia, and of the present Shah of Persia. I have also been at Bokhara twelve years ago, where, after receiving the hospitality of your Majesty for more than a month, I set out with a gracious passport from your Majesty to the following purport: "The high Decree has gone forth, that Joseph Wolff, the Englishman, should return to his country; and that on his way through these dominions nobody should lay any impediment in his way on entering or quitting any place. He that readeth this, let him hear and obey." And obeyed

it was; for your Majesty's command is powerful, since I was well received at Balkh and at Masaur.

Now again I am about to enter Bokhara, in order to claim Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, of whom it is reported in England, Russia, Germany, and America, that your Majesty has put them to death. But I, knowing the hospitality of the inhabitants of Bokhara, did not believe it; and therefore I shall petition your Majesty, on my arrival there, to send both gentlemen with me to England, in order that the commotion may subside which now exists throughout Europe, and that strict friendship may be established between your Majesty and the British government. Should they have been put to death on account of some misdemeanour on their part, I beg your Majesty to state to me the cause, and to deliver to me their bones, in order that they may be buried in their own land; for your Majesty must know that I have been the Moorsheed of Conolly, and Conolly was my Murreed.

I am your Majesty's humble Servant,

J. WOLFF.

The Khaleefa of Mowr had also stated that Dil Assa Khan was merely sent by the Assaff-ood-Dowla to Bokhara on my account. That villain, however, had the effrontery, without informing me, to send a message to the governor of Jehaar-Joo, purporting that he was an ambassador from the Assaff-ood-Dowla to the king of Bokhara, for the purpose of offering the Ameer assistance in his war with the Khan of Khiva. He had even the impudence to say that he was in no way connected with me, but came for quite a different object. I picked up this piece of intelligence from Kouli, his own servant, and several of the inhabitants of Jehaar-Joo confirmed it, as also the governor himself; but he, by the provident care of that great man, the Khaleefa of Mowr, was fortunately apprized of the real facts of the case, and had learnt from him that Dil Assa Khan was my servant, and that he was sent forwards for the sole object of protecting me by the Assaff-ood-Dowla. From the governor of Jehaar-Joo I consequently experienced every kindness.

I was here also visited by Jews from Bokhara; and, most remarkable, *the same Jews* whom I met at Jehaar-Joo twelve years before. They expressed a very great joy to see me again well. And after the Usbecks had left my tent, the Jews spoke to me in the following manner: "Joseph Wolff, Joseph Wolff, Joseph Wolff! you are a son of Death as soon as you enter Bokhara. For God's sake do not enter; there still is time to retrace your steps: this night we will fly with you to Organtsh, or send a man with you to Organtsh, with one of our friends. The king of Organtsh is a friend to England and to Conolly, but for God's sake do not go on to Bokhara. Stoddart has been put to death,—Conolly also; and some years before both of them Lieutenant Wyburd, who was on his way to Khiva, but was brought to Bokhara and put in prison there, and some years after his throat was cut; and five other Englishmen have been put to death at the gate of Jehaar-Joo, only ten months ago. Poor Conolly, poor Conolly, poor Conolly, was dragged to the place of execution. His words were *Wail, wail, wail! Kee aftadam bedaste Szaalem.* 'Woe to me, woe to me, woe to me! that I have fallen into the hands of a tyrant.'" This very fact of his exclaiming thus, was told me previously by Mullah Nathan, the Jew, when at Merwe. I however replied to them, "I shall go on; I must be more certain as to this subject." A derveesh entered my tent at this instant, who was considered to stand in immediate communication with God, and he had the title Baba. He said to me, "Go on, and prosper!"

CHAPTER X.

Arrival at Karakol—Dr. Wolff is abandoned by his Servants. Motives for the conduct of Dil Assa Khan. Shahr Islam. Shouts of Populace on the Route. Description of Usbekistaun. Kaffer Seeah-Poosh—Their Language—Worship—Dress. Reception of Dr. Wolff on entering into Bokhara—Roofs of Houses thronged—Thousands to witness the entry into the City—Bible held open in his hand—Brought up to the King. Interview with the Makhram. Inquiry whether he would comply with the Ceremonies used in Presentation to Ameer—Assents to them—Ordered to send up Letters—Sends Letters from Sultan, Shah, Haje, Count Medem, Sheikh Islam, Assaff-ood-Dowla. Dr. Wolff and Dil Assa Khan introduced to the King of Bokhara—The King thinks Dr. Wolff an extraordinary Personage—Person of the King. History of Ameer—Gains the Throne by Hakim Beyk—Murders all his five Brothers except Omar Khan. Dr. Wolff meets Omar Khan a Fugitive in the Desert of Mowr, who is there recognised by a Derveesh—Omar shares the fate of his Brethren, and dies in battle against Behadur Khan—Ameer supposed also to have murdered his Father. History of Hakim Beyk—Becomes Goosh-Bekee—Raises the Character of the Nation—Supplanted in King's favour by Abdul Samut Khan, whom he had raised from a low Station. Imprisonment of Lieut. Wyburd—the Goosh-Bekee intercedes for him—The King promises to reform. Doctrine of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance laid down by the Reis—the Ameer acts on it—People believe that the King can do no Wrong—seizes Wives of his Subjects—Goosh-Bekee resists—is exiled—recalled—and executed.

I PROCEEDED, I OWN, with considerable misgiving from Jehaar-Joo to Karakol, where rooms were assigned me by the governor by order of the Ameer of Bokhara, and proper provision sent for me. Here, also, that execrable villain, Dil Assa Khan, called, without my knowledge, on Hussein Khan, governor of Karakol, a man of probity and mercy, whom I knew in my former journey into Bokhara in the year 1832. I was asleep from the fatigues of the journey.

when Dil Assa Khan called on Hussein Khan. When I awoke in the morning, I called out to my servants. After a considerable time, Abdullah appeared, and said, "Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli have left you, and I also cannot any longer be servant to you; and I have eaten dung, because I came with you. I can no longer be your servant." He then seized his bag and went off. At last Hussein, the other servant, appeared, and said, "I shall stand by you." This man was a rogue, but was not devoid of that kind of affectionate spirit I have noted in some very depraved men, which leads me to imagine that had that tendency been oftener watched and fostered into fuller growth, the character itself might have become essentially changed. Hussein had been my servant, in 1832, from Meshed to Bokhara and Cabūl, and had witnessed the providence that God had extended over me, when they wanted to burn me at Doo-Ab, near But-Bamian. His abiding with me brought back Abdullah; but I noticed that both the Tūrkomauns, Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kooli, went always from this time with Dil Assa Khan and his servants, and both Abdullah and Hussein exhibited considerable signs of alarm, although they remained with me.

Kooli, the servant of Dil Assa Khan, soon gave me the key to this mystery. Dil Assa Khan had been with the governor of Karakol, closeted for some time, and had been informed by him that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had been killed, and also several other Europeans; and that he entertained little doubt that I should share their fate, since the Ameer now evidently looked upon all Europeans as spies, and would execute them accordingly; that he doubted not that the instant I reached Bokhara I should be beheaded. Dil Assa Khan instantly possessed the Tūrkomauns with all these circumstances, told his own servants also, and advised mine to abandon me, to look out for their own safety, and to join him. I have no doubt, also, that this villain had pondered

over in his mind three states of circumstances that might arise. The first, and to him the most probable, for his conduct evinced his belief, was, that I should be executed on the instant of my arrival. He therefore determined to divest himself of all implication as one of my suite. The second, that I might so represent his conduct at Bokhara, supposing that I succeeded in saving my life, as to get him into very serious difficulty. The third and last, and he was prepared, by a short cut, as I shall subsequently show, to obviate that position, that on my return I might urge the Assaff-ood-Dowla to punish him, as he well knew that he deserved, for his robbery, lies, and treachery to me. Dil Assa Khan prepared himself for all circumstances, and he also expected to extort from me a large sum of money.

Perceiving this state of circumstances, while we were leaving Karakol, and on the road to Shahr Islam,—(Shahr Islam is the place where formerly Afrasiab, the famous king in Persian history, in ancient times resided, and also where Islamism was first introduced; it is eight miles from Bokhara,)—I said to Dil Assa Khan, "I now fully perceive that you have acted, do act, and will continue to act, *the traitor*. Be cautious: I warn you, the consequences will alight on your own head."

D. A. K. (sneering). Both of your folks (Kawm) are killed, Stoddart and Conolly.

W. And, in consequence, you will play traitor.

D. A. K. How much money will you give me to do your work?

W. Not a single *pool*, *i. e.* penny.

When, however, I reached Shahr Islam, the king's chamberlain (Makhram) was sent to *welcome me*—not Dil Assa Khan, and sweetmeats were sent for me; and the Makhram brought me, in the king's name, the assurance of his Majesty's good will towards me. The scene then became suddenly changed. Both the Türkomauns, Ameer Sarog and Kaher

Kooli, diminished the distance between us. I was dressed in full canonicals the entire distance from Mowr to Bokhara, being determined never to lose sight of my position as mullah, on which alone I soon perceived my safety depended. I also kept the Bible open in my hand; I felt my power was in the Book, and that its might would sustain me. The uncommon character of these proceedings attracted crowds from Shahr Islam to Bokhara, all which was favourable to me; since, if I was doomed to death, it would be widely known, and the consequences might be even serious to the Ameer himself of interfering with a sacred character, armed with the book of Moses, and David, and Jesus, protected by the word of the Khaleefa of Mowr, supported by the Sultan, the Shah of Persia, the Russian ambassador, the Assaff-ood-Dowla, both by word and letters, and the popular principle among the Mussulmans, as testified on my route in shouts of "Selaam Aleikoom!"—'Peace with you.'

The Türkomauns my guides were, in the strictest sense of the word, *masterless:* for their Aga Sakals, 'lords with the beard,' have only a right to give advice, and to conduct them on their plundering expeditions, but they have no power to punish.

This country of Usbekistaun is filled with beautifully-watered and cultivated valleys. Here we find the Great Bokhara, in contradistinction to Little Bokhara: from 34° to 42° north latitude, and from 80° to 92° east longitude, it extends in different directions. It borders towards the south-west from the desert Khawar towards Iraun; from the river Amoo to the territory of Balkh, towards the southern Affghanistaun, through the high galleries of mountains to the Hindoo Kush, it borders on the southern provinces of China.

Since the expulsion of the Turks or Tatars, the Usbecks are the dominant people. Sheybek Khan brought them to the country of the river Amoo in the year 1498, when they had the centre of their empire at Organtsh, in Khiva. They

spread death and destruction over the whole of Tūrkistaun, as far as Iraun. The celebrated Murad or Beggi Jan raised the nation of the Usbecks. Incessant wars with Persia and Cabūl have sometimes extended the empire as far as Merve, Heraut, and Balkh; and sometimes it has been reduced to its former limits. The Usbecks are Mussulmans, rough and uncultivated; but the Tatshick, the original inhabitants, are more civilized. The Usbecks live mostly on cattle, whilst the Tatshick are merchants. The Tatshick are the Armenians of Tūrkistaun; they are merchants and brokers: their language is the Persian. The Tatshick are exceedingly deceitful. The people of Khokand are proud and effeminate, but friends of Europeans; the women chaste, but men given to vice; fond of music and of hunting, and of cheerful temper. The inhabitants of Marghilaan are a quiet, inoffensive, and agreeable people. The Kaffer Seeah-Poosh are pagans. They are believed, as I have said, by some to be the descendants of the army of Alexander the Great; their women are beautiful, and celebrated in Asia. Their dialect seems to be derived from the Sanscrit, as some of the following words may prove:

Imra	God.
Dagoon	God.
Terekam	God.
Tata	Father.
Yeh	Mother.
Manash	Man.
Amatesan	Village.
Ama	House.
Geda	Horse.

They worship their ancestors. Their idols are of wood and stone, to whom sacrifices are offered by the hereditary priesthood: they also have magicians. They consider fish as unclean. Polygamy is practised among them. They are deadly foes to the Muhammedans. They are sociable, cheerful, and

passionate. Dancing, with musical instruments and drums, forms part of their amusements. Hospitality and vengeance of blood belong to their religious principles. The men wear a shirt, and over it a black goat's skin, for which they are called *Seeah-poosh*, 'black clothed.' The women wear only one shirt, and their heads are covered with silver ornaments. A red tiara distinguishes the maidens. They live on cattle, fruit, (walnuts, apples, grapes, and apricots,) and good wine. Their domiciles are of wood, with subterranean chambers; utensils according to European fashion, as chairs, tables, and bedding. They have daggers and fire-arms. A wealthy Seeah-Poosh possesses eight hundred goats, three hundred oxen, and eight slaves. Their number amounts to ninety thousand. Upon the height of Badagshaun are four free tribes of Israel; those of Naphtali, Dan, Zebulon, and Ashur.

My villain escort, Dil Assa Khan, then came up to me and said, "You ought to enter Bokhara dressed as a poor man." I replied, "Villain, liar, and man-seller! (for strong terms alone are effective in the East,) leave me. The Assaff-ood-Dowla will assuredly put you to death when we reach Meshed." Dil Assa Khan turned deadly pale. Shouts of "Selaam Aleikoom" from thousands rang upon my ear. It was a most astonishing sight; people from the roofs of the houses, the Nogay Tatars of Russia, the Cassacks and Girghese from the deserts, the Tatar from Yarkand or Chinese Tartary, the merchant of Cashmeer, the Serkerdeha or grandees of the king on horseback, the Affghauns, the numerous water-carriers, stopped still and looked at me; Jews with their little caps, the distinguishing badge of the Jews of Bokhara, the inhabitants of Khokand, politely smiling at me; and the mullahs from Chekarpoor and Sinde looking at me and saying, "Inglese Saheb;" veiled women screaming to each other, "Englees Eljee," 'English ambassador;' others coming by them and saying, "He is not an Eljee, but the Grand Derveesh, Derveesh Kelaun, of Englistaun."

My addresses had been circulated throughout all the parts of Persia, Türkistaun, and Bokhara: my object had become widely understood, and I doubtless reaped the fruit of making the subject of my mission thus clear and intelligible to all the Mussulman world. Amid the continued shouts of "Selaam Aleikoom," I looked closely among the populace, in the hope that I might recognise Stoddart or Conolly. It was vain.

Before we were carried to our assigned quarters, we were brought, what they emphatically call '*Bala*,' *up* to the palace of the king. This is situated on a lofty eminence. When we reached it, the Serkerdeha, *i. e.* the grandees of the empire, were just leaving it, riding on horseback. The people crowded in masses on me, demanding, "What book have you in your hand?" I replied, "The *Towrat-e-Moosa* (laws of Moses), the *Saboor-e-Dawood* (Psalms of David), and the *Anjeel-e-Esau* (Gospel of Christ), and the Prophecies of Daniel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah," &c. Devoutly did those poor unenlightened souls touch the Book. At the entrance of the palace-gate we were ordered to dismount from our horses. Only the grandees of the empire, and ambassadors of the Sultan of Constantinople, or the Shah of Persia, should they come to Bokhara, are permitted to enter the palace-gates on horseback. No Christian, heathen, or any other ambassador is allowed that privilege. Singular to say, however, I was allowed this privilege at my audience of leave, prior to my departure from Bokhara.

Previous to our entrance, one of his Majesty's Makhrams appeared before me, and said, "His Majesty condescends to ask whether you would be ready to submit to the mode of Selaam," (for Stoddart Saheb refused, and drew his sword). I asked, "In what does the Selaam consist?" He replied, "You are placed before his Majesty, who will sit upon the Bala Hanah, (from whence Balkan is derived,) and the Shekawl (minister of foreign affairs) will take hold of your shoulders; and you must stroke your beard three times, and

three times bow, saying at each time, 'Allah Akbar, Allah Akbar, Allah Akbar,' 'God is the greatest, God is the greatest, God is the greatest!' 'Selaamat Padishah,'—'Peace to the king.'" On being asked if I would do it three times, I said, "Thirty times, if necessary." Entering the gate, we were desired to sit down upon a stone seat, and after a few minutes' delay were ordered to send up our letters. I sent the following:

1. Two letters from the Sultan. The one which the Sultan himself gave me, and the other which I found at Meshed, and which was not forwarded by that villain Muhammed Ali Serraf.

2. A letter from his Majesty Muhammed Shah of Persia.

3. A letter from Haje Mirza Agasee, prime-minister to the King of Persia, addressed to the so-called Vizier of the King of Bokhara; but who in fact is nothing else but the chief of the custom-house, and who is not allowed to receive or open any letter without the Ameer's permission.

4. A letter from his Excellency Count Medem, Russian ambassador at Teheraun, to the Ameer himself.

5. A letter from the Sheikh al-Islam of Constantinople, to the Kazi Kelaun (grand judge) of Bokhara; for I knew that none of the dignitaries of Bokhara, not even a merchant, are allowed to receive letters without first of all being perused by the Ameer.

6. Letters from the Assaff-ood-Dowla written to myself, in which he stated to me, that all the presents he had sent to the King of Bokhara were sent on my account; and he further wrote to me, that if Dil Assa Khan should betray me at Bokhara, he would burn his father.

7. A copy of the letter sent by the Assaff-ood-Dowla to Dil Assa Khan himself, warning him not to betray me.

Most of the above letters have been published in the course of the previous Narrative; but the letter to the Kazi Kelaun, or Sheikh Islam of Bokhara, from the Sheikh Islam of Constantinople, is so characteristic a document, that I cannot refrain from giving it at full length.

O Asylum of Excellence, O Loom of Knowledge, the Master of the art of appreciating the worth of men of science, the Possessor

of deliberateness, whose customs are those of sincerity; may he endure in honour!

With the offering of the select of sweet-smelling prayers, and of running fountains of odoriferous blessings of good odour, the friendly representation is this; that of the officers of the kingdom of England, a Colonel named Stoddart, another officer, and two or three Englishmen under safe-conduct, who had gone to Bokhara on business some time back, had been arrested and imprisoned by the glorious Government of Bokhara; and on account of the request which was formerly made on the part of the said kingdom, an august epistle, containing (a request for) the exertion of endeavour to liberate the said persons, was issued and despatched on the part which unites honour and glory, of the asylum of the Caliphate, his Majesty, my magnified Lord, the Royal, Dread, Puissant, and Great Emperor of the posterity of Osmaun (may God eternize him, and fortify him with His assistance unto the end of time!) my Master, to his Majesty, the fortunate, brave, and glorious Khaun, (may God grant him long life, with glory and renown!)

At this present time, it has been resolved on the part of England to send the esteemed Derveesh called Doctor Wolff to gain information concerning the circumstances of the said imprisoned persons; and if they are alive, to take them with him and conduct them back to their country. And a request has been made on the part of the said kingdom, that our August Imperial Epistle to his Majesty the said Khaun be this time also issued, and that an express letter be also written and sent on our sincere part to your High Quarter, to the effect that endeavour be made to deliver the said imprisoned persons to the said Derveesh, and to restore them to their place.

According as it is known to your Excellent Self, the endurance and stability of the pillars of sincerity and friendship, and of the columns of love and amity which from of old have stood and remained firm between the Sublime Empire of eternal duration and the said kingdom, is a thing desired on both sides; and by this reason, such requests as take place are deposited in the centre of acceptance and fulfilment; also in reality the imprisonment and detention of such guests cannot be in accordance and congruous with the laws of nations and the customs of sovereignty; and again, by reason that, according to the result of the requirements of the uniting point of religion and true faith which exist between

the Imperial Person of the Caliph and His Majesty the said Khaun, it is an undoubted circumstance that the requests of either to the other which appear in the mirror of event and forthcoming, will arrive at the receptacle of acceptance; therefore, although it is evident that already endeavour has been made to clear of impediment the road of the said imprisoned persons, still in case they should not yet have left Bokhara, an august epistle has been issued and despatched unto his Majesty the said Khaun, to the effect that endeavour be used for their being delivered to the said Derveesh, to their being restored and sent back safely and joyfully to their place with all possible speed, by way of Constantinople; therefore, according to the generous qualities of equity and conscientiousness with which your Noble Self is endowed and qualified in this matter, that is, in the matter of restoring and sending back the said imprisoned persons to their place with all possible speed, it is hereby explained, that it is Our sincere and most express hope that most strenuous endeavours will be exerted to the attainment of the requisite means, and the accompaniment of the necessary assistance and protection in their behalf. And in this wisė the present letter, the bond of sincerity, has been written, and sent and forwarded to Your Presence, the Element of Excellence. When, with the grace of the Most High, it shall arrive, the exertion, in the manner aforesaid, of your most strenuous endeavours depends upon your Qualities, odoriferous with great things.

From the sincere friend, MUSTAFA 'AASIM, son of the native of Mecca: may both their sins be forgiven!

After the letters were sent up, we were brought before the king,—Dil Assa Khan and myself. His Majesty was seated in the balcony of his palace, looking down upon us: thousands of people in the distance. All eyes were bent on me, to see if I would submit to the etiquette. When the Shekawl took hold of my shoulders, I not only submitted to his doing so to me three times, but I bowed repeatedly, and exclaimed unceasingly, "Peace to the King," until his Majesty burst into a fit of laughter, and of course all the rest standing around us. His Majesty said, "Enough, enough, enough." We were then ordered to retire. The Shekhawl, an officer who answers to our Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, then

assured me that his Majesty had smiled upon me, and exclaimed, "What an extraordinary man this Englishman is! in his eyes, and in his dress, and the Book in his hand."

His Majesty is about five feet six inches high, rather stout, black eyes and small, of dark complexion, with a convulsive twitching of the muscles of his face; his voice not remarkably powerful, but rapid in intonation; his smile appears forced. He has the whole appearance of a *bon-vivant*. His clothes are quite those of a common mullah, without any pomp or decoration. He has deprived the mullahs of all their power, and taken the executive into his own hands. On his accession to the throne he killed five of his brothers: two of them, it is reported, were murdered in the territory of foreign powers, viz. one of them at Khokand, and the other at Orenbourg, in Russia. After the death of his father, Turah Zadeh was the eldest, and had actually taken possession of Bokhara; however, Nasir Ullah, the present king, retired to the fortress of Karshi, and his friend, who was the Hakim Beyk, remained at Bokhara, and gained over the people of Bokhara by his learning, talent, integrity, and wealth, in favour of Nasir Ullah. After he had thus gained the inhabitants, he sent word to Nasir Ullah to come with troops to the gates of Bokhara. As soon as he appeared, the gates were opened and Turah Zadeh murdered, and Nasir Ullah ascended the throne. A second brother was murdered in the arms of his mother. Omar Khan, a third brother, had the good fortune to escape, and he wandered about in the whole of Tūrkistaun, spent some time among the derveeshes of Mowlana and Jelala Adeen, in the Turkish empire, performed, under the garb of a derveesh, his pilgrimage to the Kaaba at Mecca, to the grave of Muhammed at Medina; returned again to the Khunkaar (Sultan) of Stamboul; and when I, in 1832, was in the desert of Mowr, seated in the tent of a Jew, a derveesh entered the tent of my Jewish host; and soon after an Usbeck came in, and stared at the derveesh, and exclaimed suddenly, kissing his feet,

"God preserve Omar Khan, my Padishah of Bokhara, son of Ameer Hyder Behadur." Omar Khan said, "Betray me not." Thus Omar Khan wandered about in the desert of Mowr, and made an alliance with the king of Khiva; and I heard after this that he was slain in battle against his brother the present king. It is also said that the present king poisoned his own father.

Hakim Beyk, who had assisted him to mount the throne, became his Goosh-Bekee, or Vizier; and as long as he followed the advice of that wise minister, Nasir Ullah was the beloved king of Bokhara, and feared by the kings around Bokhara. The kings of Khokand, Cashgar, and Khetay sent ambassadors with presents unto him; and Russia continued to be on friendly terms with the king of Bokhara. The object of that great minister, the Goosh-Bekee, was to draw to Bokhara learned men, and men of arts, from all the countries of the earth. His friendship with Moorcroft had given him a predilection for England, and he desired me, in 1832, to prevail on the British government to send physicians and officers, together with an ambassador, to Bokhara. Sir A. Burnes, after me, received the favours of that great man, and Dr. Haenigberger also, from Hungary, who came from Lahore, where he was in the service of the great Runjeet Singh, the lion of the Punjaub. The derveeshes of Bokhara began to sing of the praises of Nasir Ullah and his great minister, the Goosh-Bekee. The town of Bokhara became adorned with beautiful mosques, and outside Bokhara gardens and country-houses were planned; but Nasir Ullah Behadur became jealous of the Goosh-Bekee. At that time, in the year 1835, Abdul Samut Khan arrived from Cabūl, where he had run away from Dost Muhammed Khan; and he boasted that he was acquainted with all the European sciences and military discipline. The excellent Goosh-Bekee recommended him to the king, and the king nominated him the chief of the Sirbaas, *i.e.* of the regular troops, and of the artillery. The Goosh-Bekee poured favours upon the new comer, whilst Abdul Samut Khan all the time began

to intrigue against his benefactor, and made the king believe that the Goosh-Bekee was in correspondence with England. The influence of the Goosh-Bekee began visibly to decline.

At that time a report reached the king, that an Englishman was on his way to Khiva; he sent soldiers (Usbecks) after him, and made a prisoner of that Englishman. His name was Lieutenant Wyburd. He was cast into the prison called Sizahjaa, 'black well;' and after that into the dungeon of the Nayeb, who treated him in the most cruel manner, and continually said to him, "I know how to treat you Europeans to humble you." After a year or so before the arrival of Colonel Stoddart, the Ameer sent for him, and said to him, "If you become a Mussulman, and enter my service, I will have mercy on you, and treat you well." But Wyburd answered, "Understand that I am an Englishman, and therefore I shall neither change my religion nor enter the service of a tyrant." He then was led forth to execution: he said, "Now you shall see how an Englishman and Christian can die!" He bowed his head, which was cut off, and his body cast into a well.

The Goosh-Bekee appeared before Nasir Behadur; the respect of the servants was no longer paid to him as before. The Goosh-Bekee bowed three times to the ground, stroked three times his beard, and recited the first chapter of the *Koran*, called Fatkha, which is as follows: "In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God; praise to God, the Creator of the worlds, the most Merciful and Compassionate, the King in the day of judgment; we serve Thee, we look up to Thee; guide us thoroughly in the way of those to whom thou art merciful,—not in the way of those with whom thou art angry,—not in the way of those who are in error. Amen." And then he stroked again his beard. The king asked him to sit down, which he did, bowing again to the ground. Then the king asked, "What is thy request?" He said, "O Hasrat! I have devoted my old days and my grey hairs to the service of my King and my Master; I have served many

years your father, to whom God has been merciful. I have not gathered treasure, and I did all that you might become a powerful monarch, honoured by all nations; that you might become like Timur, and your name renowned like that of Scander Sulkarneyn. But in what have I now sinned, that my advice is no longer heard?" The king demanded, "What is thy desire?" He replied, "Why has your Majesty pulled down those beautiful palaces which you built with so much expense, and which were the delight of the inhabitants? And besides that, why does your Majesty arrest Englishmen in the highways, and bring them prisoners to Bokhara? England is a powerful nation; all Hind belongs to it. Shah Soojah El-Mulk, and Shah Zemaun, the two kings of Affghanistaun, have found shelter in the dominions of England. Runjeet Singh, the idolater, threatens to attack Affghanistaun; and if once in Affghanistaun, he may come to Bokhara. On the other side we are threatened from Russia and Khiva, and the Guzl-Bash will unite to destroy the King of Bokhara, which may God prevent! What can save us from all these evils, except a strict alliance with England?" The king told him to retire, and promised to profit by his advice.

Soon after this the Reis, *i e.* the Great Mullah, who enforces with bastinadoes and death obedience to the observance of the rites of the Muhammedan religion, preached one day to the Muhammedans in the following manner: "The king is a shepherd: the subjects are the sheep. The shepherd may do with the sheep as he thinks proper: he may take the wife from her husband, for the wife is the sheep of the king as well as the husband, and he may make use of any other man's wife just as he pleases." From that moment Nasir Ullah became the greatest profligate at Bokhara. He employed all his Makhrams as so many ruffians. The persons who were not willing to give up their wives, were instantly put to death; and he so habituated them to tyranny, that the husband, on being deprived of his wife, sighed and resigned

himself to the will of the king with the exclamation, *Een kary Padsha hast*,—'This is a royal act.' The honest Goosh-Bekee alone resisted, and boldly reproved the king for it. Upon which he was exiled to Karshi. When the friends of the Goosh-Bekee wanted him to escape to Khokand, he said, "I am too old to be a traitor. I am sixty years of age; I will die in my native country, for die I must, whether in my house or in prison." He remained quietly in prison at Karshi, spent his days in reading the *Koran*, saw from time to time derveeshes of the family of Nakshbande, and was at last brought again to Bokhara, and there put in prison, and then executed by order of the Ameer behind the palace, on the spot where afterwards Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were also executed.

CHAPTER XI.

Passive Obedience the feeling of the People of Bokhara—Bad Character of the Mervee. King's Touch supposed to cure Disease—His Wives—his mixed Descent from a Persian Mother and an Usbeck Prince—Nursed by a Cassack Woman. Dr. Wolff's Interview with Shekhawl—Equivocation of Dil Assa Khan. Dr. Wolff explains his Mission. The Makhram is sent in the Evening with Questions for Dr. Wolff to answer—Appearance before Ameer on the following day. Makhram sent to Dr. Wolff with another Question. Visit to Abdul Samut Khan—History of him. Nayeb receives Dr. Wolff with apparent cordiality—Long Conversation relative to the Death of Stoddart and Conolly—Private Conversation with Nayeb afterwards—he affects to have befriended Stoddart and Conolly—shows Testimonials from them and Sir Alexander Burnes. Dr. Wolff hears "God save the Queen" played by the Ameer's Band—writes to Lord Aberdeen about the Russian Slaves in Bokhara. Nayeb gives Dr. Wolff three thousand Tillahs—Dr. Wolff objects to receive them. Dr. Wolff explains to the Nayeb the object of the Stoddart and Conolly Committee—Nayeb demands how much Money Dr. Wolff would pay for his Ransom—King deeply affected at Report made by the Makhram of Dr. Wolff's Interview with Abdul Samut Khan. Letter to Captain Grover.

WHATEVER crime or cruelty the king of Bokhara commits, the people simply observe, "This was an act of the King,"—"Who can fathom the heart of a King?" But the Tatshick have more sense of liberty, and they in secret complain of the cruelty of the king; and the Mervee would at once join the Persians, if the latter would send an army there. But the character of the Mervee is so bad, that the proverb is current at Bokhara and Meshed, if you meet with a viper (*mar* in Persian) and a Mervee, kill the Mervee and then the serpent (*mar*). They (the Mervee) are, however, as also the Tatshick, fond of reading poetry. They assembled daily in the quarter where I lived, in the room of Dil Assa Khan Mervee,

the treacherous Mervee who served me as mehmoondar from Meshed to Bokhara, and read aloud the poem of *Scander Nameh*, or History of Alexander the Great. It is curious, that though the people of Bokhara are great enemies of the Sheah, yet they are mighty admirers of the writings of Hafiz and Saadi.

The people of Bokhara, and all the rest of the Tūrkomaun nation, attach a particular efficacy to the touching of the king's garments or hands; and believe that sick people may be cured by the simple touch of the king.

The king has four wives, of whom he has only one son, who is about twenty years of age, and said to be of a weakly constitution. But it is said that his wives hate him, and that they are Persian slaves. They are the friends of Abdul Samut Khan, to whom they report every action and every word of the king. And it is not to be wondered at that they should hate the profligate above described. It must be observed, that the king himself is the son of Shah Hydur, by a Persian slave; and as a Tūrkomaun well said, at Nishapoor, "As a horse paired with a donkey produces a mule, so an Usbeck married to a Persian must produce a monster." Besides that, the king had a Cassack woman from the desert as his wet nurse: and thus, as the same Tūrkomaun at Nishapoor observed, "He drank the milk of a man-eater; for the Cassacks in the desert are accused of eating the bodies of dead men, and it is for that reason that he is such a bloodhound."

After presentation to the king, we were brought to a small room in the palace, which serves as an *office*. Here the Shekhawl above mentioned came accompanied by Mullah Haje his secretary, who is one of those Persian slaves of whom there are two hundred thousand throughout the kingdom of Bokhara. Mullah Haje recollected having known me when at Bokhara in 1832. The Shekhawl then opened the business, by first addressing himself to Dil Assa Khan Mervee.

Shekhawl. What is your name and country?

D. A. K. Dil Assa Khan.

Sh. What is your request of his Majesty, (Hasrat)?

D. A. K. My request consists only in one point; his Excellency the Assaff-ood-Dowla, being a great friend of his Majesty, and convinced that the king of Bokhara with justice demands the possession of Khiva and Khokand, offers his assistance to his Majesty against Khiva and Khokand; and all the cannon, ammunition, and troops demanded from him, the Assaff-ood-Dowla will be ready to send to the Ameer. Khorassaun is near to Bokhara; Russia is two months distant from Bokhara, and England six months; therefore friendship between the Assaff-ood-Dowla and Bokhara is most necessary. This is the only request I have to make.

Wolff. Have you no other request to make?

D. A. K. None whatever.

W. You are my man; and the Assaff-ood-Dowla has merely sent you here to assist me in my request to the king, and you have been paid by me for it.

D. A. K. The Assaff-ood-Dowla has merely sent you on with me here.

Sh. What is your name and request?

W. Joseph Wolff is my name, a well-known mullah and derveesh from England. I was in the city of Bokhara twelve years ago, (Mullah Haje here recollected me, and at once said so,) when I was well treated by his Majesty; and a passport was given to me previous to my departure, saying that the high order had been issued that Joseph Wolff the Englishman should be allowed to return to his country, and that on the road nobody should lay any hindrance in his way. After me Sir Alexander Burnes arrived, and was well treated, and allowed to proceed on his way to England; and the hospitable conduct of his Majesty towards myself and Sir Alexander Burnes induced others to visit Bokhara Shereef. Two officers, (highly beloved and honoured by the British government,) my friends, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly,

came here,—Captain Conolly was my Murreed, *i. e.* spiritual disciple; when suddenly it was reported from the land of Russia, the land of Khiva, and even from the land of Khokand, and also from the land of Hindūstaun, that both officers, brave in war and religious men, had been killed by order of the king of Bokhara. And this news made not only a great commotion throughout England and Hindūstaun, but also in the new world (America), and Muhammed Ali of Egypt heard of it, and thousands in England exclaimed, "War with Bokhara!"

Here the Shekhawl interrupted me by asking, "How far is England from Bokhara?" Dil Assa Khan replied, "Six months march." I said, "That is untrue. England itself is only three months march distant from Bokhara; but we have troops at Shikarpore, near Candahar, which is only thirty days march from Bokhara."

I then continued, saying, "I, Joseph Wolff, seeing this great commotion throughout the world, about the death of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, put into the newspapers, 'Oh, my English friends, I cannot believe the report of the death of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, for they revere at Bokhara *guests* very much. I shall therefore go there and ascertain the truth.' All my friends said, 'Don't go there, for they will kill you also.' I said, 'I shall go, for Conolly was my great friend.' On seeing my determination, my friends induced the government of England to order their ambassadors at Constantinople and Teheraun to procure me letters for his Majesty the king of Bokhara from the Sultan, and from Muhammed Shah. On my arrival at Constantinople the Sultan gave me the required letters, also the Sheikh al-Islam of Stamboul; and Muhammed, Shah of Persia, not only gave me letters for the king of Bokhara, but also for the Assaff-ood-Dowla, ordering him to give me every assistance and aid, in order that I might meet with a good reception at Bokhara. On my arrival at Meshed, the Assaff-ood-Dowla asked me whether

I should like him to send a respectable man with me, who would speak in my behalf to the Ameer; in this case he would give himself one hundred tomauns to that man, and I should give another hundred tomauns to that same man. And his Excellency the Assaff-ood-Dowla said he would also send presents to the Ameer, to secure for me a good reception. I accepted the proposal, and gave a hundred tomauns to Dil Assa Khan, and we set out for Bokhara. But as he behaved on the road like a knave, I sent several Tūrkomauns to Meshed, reporting his bad conduct; on which account the Assaff sent me several letters, and letters to Dil Assa Khan, with copies of them to me, which I have delivered to the Ameer with the rest of the letters; by which the Ameer will perceive that Dil Assa Khan is only my man, that he has played the traitor, and that the statement of the object of his coming to Bokhara and back, is a falsehood from beginning to end."

D. A. K. I never said that I did not come on your account, for I know that England and Persia are great friends.

W. I don't want your assistance.

Sh. What is therefore now your object?

Dil Assa Khan here replied, "His (Joseph Wolff's) object is to establish friendship between England and the king of Bokhara."

W. I have no authority for that; but my object is, first, to ask, Where are my friends, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly? are they alive, or dead? If alive, I beg his Majesty to send them with me back to England; if dead, his Majesty will state his reasons for putting them to death, and also send with me an ambassador to England.

I perceived that if I did not hold out some hopes of reconciliation, he (the king) would be driven to despair, and perhaps put me to death; and at the same time the ambassador would serve me as an escort in my journey through the desert. I now give the continuation of my dialogue with the Shekhawl.

Sh. Has the British government itself authorized you to come here?

Dil Assa Khan interrupted me here, and said "Yes."

W. No; I am sent by the Sultan and Muhammed Shah, on account of their friendship with England.

Sh. Are you authorized to claim them if alive?

W. Yes, by all the powers of Europe, and the voice of the British nation.

Sh. Is there much commotion about it in Europe?

W. Very much so: people speak only of Stoddart and Conolly, and of the apprehension they entertain of my sharing the fate of Stoddart and my friend Conolly.

Mullah Haje. You loved Conolly very much?

W. Very much.

We were then dismissed; and the house formerly belonging to Tura Zadeh, brother to the present king, who was killed by order of the latter, was assigned to us as our dwelling; and from that moment all liberty of going out as I pleased was taken from me. I was watched day and night by the Makhrams of the king. The evening of my arrival the king sent to me two persons, the one was a Makhram, the other a Mirza, who writes down every thing which the Makhram (confidential servant to the king) asks the stranger.

Mirza (addressing himself to me). This is a favourite Makhram to Hasrat, (his Majesty). * * *

Makhram. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to order you to answer two questions, which he proposes to you now through his slave. The first question is, "Are you able to awake the dead?" The second question is this, "When will the day of resurrection take place?"

W. By God's power one is able to do every thing, for God is mighty above all. And if God (His name be praised!) gives me that power, I am able to do so; but hitherto He has never granted me that power from above. With regard to the second question: when I was at Bokhara, twelve years ago, I conversed with the Jews about the return of Jesus, and then I told them, and also the Goosh-Bekee, his Majesty's vizier,

that Jesus would return after fifteen years: but since that time I have had some doubts of the correctness of my calculation, for the meaning of the numbers mentioned in the prophet Daniel admits of a two-fold interpretation; yet I am convinced by the signs of the times that the time of the coming of Jesus is at hand. I then pointed out to him the signs of the times, as mentioned in Matthew xxiv. xxv.; Luke xxi.; Isaiah xxxiv., &c., and then departed,—every word I said having been written down by the Mirza.

We were ordered to meet the next day again, to appear before the Ameer to make our selaam, and then to retire. On returning to my lodging, a Makhram was sent again by the king to ask me why I was dressed in black and red colours,—for I wore my clergyman's gown and doctor's hood whenever I was obliged to call on his Majesty. I therefore replied that it was the costume of the Mullah Kelaun, Great Mullahs of England.

Makhram. Has it some meaning?

W. With me it has.

M. What meaning have these colours with you?

W. The black colour indicates that I mourn over my dead friends; and the red colour indicates that *I am ready to give my blood for my faith.*

I arrived, I think, on the 27th of April; it was on a Friday; and on the 29th, Makhram Kasem came and said I must follow him somewhere.

W. Where shall we go?

Kasem. This you will see.

All the attendants around me trembled. An old Yoos Bashi (commander of a hundred soldiers), who was a Persian slave, wept, and said to me in a whisper, after Kasem had gone out of the room of Dil Assa Khan, "Why did you come here? Stoddart Saib and Conolly Saib have thus been taken out of the house where they will now bring you." I asked my servant Houssein, "Will you accompany me?" He re-

plied in the affirmative. Dil Assa Khan also mounted his horse, and, accompanied by his servants, he rode proudly before me, Makhram Kasem at his side,—who throughout the road conversed with Dil Assa Khan, and not one word with me; and Dil Assa Khan's servants drove violently back my horse when it came a little near the side of Dil Assa Khan. Houssein, my servant, also began to fear to appear as my servant, and walked near the horse of Dil Assa Khan. We rode one mile out of the town to the garden of Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, chief of the artillery, which he disciplines in the European way.

Before I proceed with the relation of my first interview with the Nayeb, a slight digression will make my readers acquainted with a fact, which I believe I mentioned in my journey to Bokhara in 1831-32. When I arrived at Cabūl in 1832, I met with Sir Alexander Burnes; and in conversation he told me, "When you come to Peshawr, be on your guard against a person there who calls himself the vizier of Sultan Muhammed Khan: his name is Abdul Samut Khan, a great rascal, who if he can do any harm to an Englishman he will do so, for he knows that we look with contempt upon him." Therefore, on my arrival at Peshawr I never came near him, but saw him only for one moment, when he called upon me in the company of Sultan Muhammed Khan.

Abdul Samut Khan was born at Tabreez, in the year 1784, and having acquired some smattering of military science at Kermanshah, from Monsieur le General Court, he was employed there for a while by Muhammed Ali Mirza, the celebrated son of Futt Ullah Shah: on account of some misdemeanour of Abdul Samut Khan, Muhammed Ali Mirza ordered his ears to be cut off. The Khan then deserted, and went over to Muhammed Ali Mirza's antagonist, Abbas Mirza, at Tabreez; but was soon obliged to escape from Tabreez. He proceeded to India; thence to Peshawr; from whence he escaped, and took service with Dost Muhammed Khan. He

fled thence and came to Bokhara, where the wise and good Hakim Beyk, the Goosh-Bekee of Bokhara when I was there in 1832, procured him service with the Ameer, in order to teach the soldiers the military discipline. The Ameer made him a Khan, and nominated him his Nayeb, (lieutenant). He lives in great pomp outside the town, and has acquired, during the nine years he has been there, a fortune of sixty thousand tillahs, *i. e.* ducats. He visits the king every Sunday, and likes to pass as a European by birth, and a disciple of the English officers. He was once in disgrace on account of having withheld the pay of the troops, and was near being killed soon after Stoddart's death; but the war with Khiva and Khokand prevented the Ameer from doing so, as he was in need of his advice. To this man, Abdul Samut Khan, I was brought, and to the room in the upper story of the house where he frequently conversed with Stoddart and Conolly.

He first embraced slightly Dil Assa Khan, but when he came to me he pressed me to his heart, kissed me for about ten minutes, pinched my hands and my fingers, as I suppose (for I am no Freemason) the Freemasons do; then asked me to sit down and partake of an excellent breakfast of kubaab (roasted lamb), rice, coffee, and tea. Whilst the Nayeb, Dil Assa Khan, and myself were seated at table, Makhram Kasem, with a Mirza, was seated on the ground in the Eastern manner; the Mirza (writer) with the pen in his hand, and paper and ink before him.

Nayeb (eating at the same time). Now, Mullah Youssuff Wolff, I have known you twelve years; ay, I saw you at Peshawr, and I know all about you. At present England and Bokhara are at war, and are enemies; but after you have heard how the two officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, treated Hasrat (his Majesty), and how they have treated me, England and Bokhara shall be friends, which I heartily wish. By the Usbecks I am suspected of being an Englishman, and by the English I am suspected of being an

Usbeck; but I am neither the one nor the other. All I wish is, that the truth should be known, and now I will tell you all about it. When Colonel Stoddart arrived at Bokhara, his Majesty sent a whole troop of soldiers to receive him. He came to Bokhara, and to the Ark, just when Hasrat returned from a pilgrimage to Baba Deen Nakshbande, (a holy man buried outside the town). Colonel Stoddart was on horseback. The Shekhawl, and several other Serkerdeha (grandees), went up to him and said, "This is his Majesty; you must dismount." But he replied, "I have no orders for doing so." The Ameer smiled, and said he is a mehmoon, (guest). When you, Joseph Wolff, made your selaam before the Ameer, the Shekhawl took slightly hold of your shoulders to make you bow down. You submitted with your book in the hand; but when the Shekhawl only touched Colonel Stoddart, he laid his hand on his sword and drew it. Nothing was said to this. The house of Turah, the same house in which you live, was assigned to him as his quarters. When, a few days after, the Reis (one of the mullahs who watch over the people, and have power to flog any one who does not observe strictly the Muhammedan religion) sent one of his friends to Stoddart, and asked him whether he was an Eljee (ambassador) or a Sodagur (merchant)? Stoddart replied, "*Eat dung!*"

His imprisonment upon this occasion the Nayeb passed over in silence, and continued, "At last, from fear, Stoddart said he would become a Mussulman; and according to the Muhammedan religion, if a person says he will turn Mussulman, he must either do so or die. He became a Mussulman, and a short time after openly avowed again the Christian religion. At last it was agreed that he should write to England to be acknowledged as the accredited agent of Great Britain at the court of Bokhara, and that the king of Bokhara should be the acknowledged sovereign of Türkistaun, &c.; and Colonel Stoddart promised that in four months an answer should arrive from the government of England. Though at his (Stoddart's)

request, Japar-khanas (post-houses) were established from Bokhara to Sarakhs, which did not exist either at Bokhara or in the land of Tūrkistaun from the time of Afrasiab, *fourteen months* elapsed, and no answer arrived. During the time that Colonel Stoddart was at Bokhara, Captain Conolly went from Organtsh (Khiva) to Khokand, where he stopped a considerable time, exciting both countries to wage war against the Ameer of Bokhara. He at last arrived at Bokhara, announcing himself as a British agent, without having any letters from the British government; and whatever Colonel Stoddart had agreed to he upset, announcing to the king of Bokhara that the British government would never interfere with the affairs of Tūrkistaun, and all that Colonel Stoddart had agreed to went for nothing. Thus it was clear that Colonel Stoddart was a liar. During the stay of Conolly and Stoddart they took every opportunity of despatching, in the most stealthy manner, letters to Cabūl; and on this account his Majesty became displeased, and both Captain Conolly and Colonel Stoddart were brought, with their hands tied, behind the Ark (palace of the king), in presence of Makhram Saadat, when Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly kissed each other, and Colonel Stoddart said to Saadat, 'Tell the Ameer that I die a disbeliever in Muhammed, but a believer in Jesus; that I am a Christian, and a Christian I die.' And Conolly said, 'Stoddart, we shall see each other in Paradise (Behesht), near Jesus.' Then Saadat gave the order to cut off, first the head of Stoddart, which was done; and in the same manner the head of Conolly was cut off."

W. I thought strangling was the mode of killing at Bokhara?

N. Strangling was formerly used, but the king of Bokhara said, "Strangling gives more pain, and the rascally Khan of Khiva strangles people; and therefore, out of mercy, I command the heads of evil-doers to be cut off with a common knife."

Then the Nayeb said to me, "Have you some request to make?"

W. First of all, I am astonished that his Majesty should have thought that the Government of England would enter into a correspondence with him as long as Stoddart was a prisoner, and thus forced to write whatever his Majesty pleased. Secondly, I am astonished that Colonel Stoddart should have expected that Government would, under these circumstances, listen to his proposals.

N. (knocking upon the table on which the breakfast was spread). But Japar-khanas (post-houses) were established on Stoddart's account, which existed not from the time of Afrasiab.

W. Yet he was a prisoner.

N. (again in the same manner). But Japar-khanas were established on Stoddart's account, which existed not from the time of Afrasiab.

W. Then I have to observe, that the correspondence between England and Persia was carried on for a long time through the Governor-general of India. Now I have been informed that Lord Ellenborough, the present Governor-general of India, wrote to his Majesty the king of Bokhara.

The Nayeb evidently appeared embarrassed, and said, "I never saw such a letter from the Governor-general;" and then immediately asked me, "What is to be done?" I saw clearly that there was nothing else to be done but to contrive to get away from Bokhara as soon as possible, and in the best and safest manner I could. I therefore felt that if I did not hold out some hopes of reconciliation, that I should not be allowed to go back to tell the story, and therefore thought that the best way to effect my escape would be to propose to the Ameer to send an ambassador with me; for even if he had suffered me to go alone, I had reason to be apprehensive that Dil Assa Khan—afraid that I should get him punished for his

treachery by the Assaff-ood-Dowla—would murder me on the road to Meshed; and such an ambassador, therefore, would serve me as a protector. I therefore simply told the Nayeb, "Let the king send with me an ambassador to apologize in England for his conduct."

This whole conversation, at my proposal, was written down; and the Makhram Kasem, with the Mirza, instantly rode off to the palace; for the king was so impatient to know the result of the conversation, that he actually sent three Makhrams on horseback, one after the other, from the palace to the garden of the Nayeb.

After the Makhram Kasem and the Mirza had departed, the Nayeb desired Dil Assa Khan, his servants and my servants, to go down and take a walk in the garden; and after this had been done by them, the whole conversation took quite a different turn.

Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan began to weep, and said, "Both Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly have been put to death *without a sin or crime on their part.* I was not able to answer your objection, that the king could not expect an answer from Dowlat, (this, which means *the Power*, is the emphatic designation of our Government at Bokhara,) as long as Stoddart was a prisoner; in fact, he was so much worn out, that when he (Stoddart) came to me, he had not a shirt on his back, pale as the wall. I offered to the king one hundred thousand tillahs for their release, but he would not give ear to my proposal: all his Majesty replied was, 'They are spies, and as spies they must die.' Soon after them another Englishman came, whose name I don't know,—he was also put to death; and one Frankee, Naselli by name, who had letters for Avitabile at Lahore. The tyrant (Abdul Samut Khan continued) intended putting me to death, and has for two years back not given me any salary, until he saw that he could not go on without me; and thus he acted even after I had taken Khokand, and if he had been able to have taken Khiva, he certainly

would have cut off my head. Let the British government send one officer to Khokand, another to Khoollom, another to Khiva, and thus let those Khans be induced to march against Bokhara; and let the British government only give me twenty or thirty thousand tillahs, I am ready to support them. I make *Halt, Front!*" He said this in English, the only words he knows besides *no force.* "Three days after they were killed, the tyrant sent to me Makhram Saadat, and gave to me the full report of it, and I went to see the spot. There is a custom, on the circumcision of a son, to invite some great man, who takes the child upon his knees. I intend, if the British government gives me twenty thousand tillahs, to invite the king, place him upon a seat undermined, and the moment he sits down I will blow him up. I know that he intends to kill me, but—(here the hypocrite lifted up his eyes to heaven, and said)—*Inshallah!* 'God willing,' I shall put him to death."

W. This neither the British government nor any Christian will ever approve of; for kings are considered by us as *Sille-Ullah, i. e.* the shadows of God. I will now ask you a question, and this it is; What did he say when he heard of my arrival?

Nayeb. When he received the letter from the Khaleefa of Mowr, announcing to him your arrival, he informed me of it. I asked, "What does your Majesty intend to do with him?" He replied, "If he brings no letters from Dowlat, he shall fare like the former,—I put him to death." But his mind was so restless, that he assembled about twenty Serkerdeha (grandees), most of them advising him to put you to death. One of them, my enemy, who was dismissed on my account from his situation of governor of Samarcand, said to him, "Your Majesty asks me for my advice: I would recommend your Majesty first to kill the Nayeb, and then the Englishman." I received this news only yesterday, when Mullah Haje informed me of it by his wife; but fear not, I will stand by you, and to prove

I have been a friend of Stoddart and Conolly and Sir Alexander Burnes, I will show you something."

Here he produced the following documents:

I. *From Colonel Stoddart.*

6 November, 1841.

I write this document in certificate of my sense of the good offices rendered to me at Bokhara by Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, who was extremely kind to me while I was recovering, under God's mercy, from severe fever and ague. I was ordered to this house in the beginning of this year, from the Daster-Khanjee; and since I have been with him, he has been of good service in forwarding my communications to and from the Ameer, and with Government, and in aiding to obtain permission for my departure from Bokhara. I have reported, and will further report, all the details of his good offices to Government; and I give him this as testimony of my gratification and sense of his kindness by way of introduction to any Englishman, and as he has requested it, thinking it may some day serve him, with my best prayer that God Almighty may bless him and his family. I sign this.

CHARLES STODDART.

Given at the Garden.

II. *From Captain Conolly.*

Received from Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan three thousand tillahs, which I have promised to get invested for him in the Honourable East India Company's Fund. I take this money on public account, and will write suggestions for allowing the Nayeb twenty per cent. profit on it (the Bazaar rate of exchange to Cabūl) when I next address the Envoy and Minister at Cabūl. This I merely give as a note of hand, to secure him against accident to myself in the interim.

ARTHUR CONOLLY,

On a special mission to Tūrkistaun.

Then, after this, the Nayeb produced a most friendly letter in Persian, but signed in English by Sir A. Burnes, which entirely deceived me with respect to the Nayeb's character; for Sir A. Burnes had warned me against the Nayeb when I met him at Cabūl. So I thought that Sir A. Burnes might have changed his opinion about the Nayeb, and have been deceived with respect to his character when he saw him in 1832;

and I was further deceived by a letter, recommending me to him from Colonel Sheil; and lastly, by a despatch sent from Lord Aberdeen to Colonel Sheil, in which Abdul Samut Khan was recommended as a man worthy of credit.

The time of evening approached, and the band of soldiers played "God save the Queen," which most agreeably surprised me. I then asked him whether there were any other Europeans there. He told me that there was one Italian, Giovanni Orlando by name, who came from Constantinople to Khokand with a Khokand ambassador; that on the taking of Khokand, the king intended putting him to death, but that he, Abdul Samut Khan, saved his life, and brought him and his wife to Bokhara, where he now gains his livelihood by watch mending. I saw the man afterwards; he is a good-natured fellow, of fair capacity, who was, as he expresses himself, "Un povero miserabile, nel suo paese," which is Parma, and is "Un povero miserabile" in Bokhara. My readers will perceive, in the latter part of this work, that this poor man has excited no small interest in his behalf on the part of his Government. However lowly the individual, that Government has felt that its meanest subject is well worthy of its most strenuous efforts to save him. I wish all Governments were equally in earnest in their efforts to save high or low, rich or poor, from foreign tyranny.

I then asked Abdul Samut Khan whether there were Russian slaves at Bokhara. He replied that there were in the town and in the villages about twenty. I said that I should like to ransom them; I had no authority for doing so, but I knew that my friends in England would assist me. He said that he would procure for me the twenty slaves for one thousand tillahs (ducats). I agreed to that, in case I could openly take them with me. He said that he would arrange the matter. I wrote therefore a letter to Lord Aberdeen about it.

He then said he would give into my charge three thousand tillahs, to invest in the Bank of England. To this I decidedly

objected, assigning as my reason, 1st. that I was totally unacquainted with money matters; 2nd. that it was very dangerous to carry so much money through the desert. He replied that he would send one of his own servants with me as far as Meshed, who should carry it; and he said, "You will certainly not refuse, when I deliver you from such a tyrant."

At last one of the Makhrams of the king came on the king's own business, and Dil Assa Khan also approached us. After the Nayeb had conversed with the Makhram a few minutes, the Makhram, Dil Assa Khan, and myself, sat down in the open garden with the Nayeb, to partake of a supper, when the Nayeb began, "But Mullah Youssuff Wolff, about one matter I have been astonished; and that is, that you came here with such a shabby present for such a great king as Nasir Ullah Behadur, who is a Padishah, and the Padishah of Bokhara Shereef and of Samarcand, of the tribe of Mankid, to bring for such a king only a present valued in the market-place at ten tillahs! You ought to purchase here for the Padishah nine times nine shawls, according to the usage of the country, every shawl to the value of thirty tillahs; so that you will have to incur an expense of eighty-one times thirty, which will amount to two thousand four hundred and thirty tillahs, but a little sum for the great Power of England."

I then said to the Nayeb, in the presence of the Makhram and Dil Assa Khan, "Now I must make you acquainted thoroughly with my circumstances, and with every circumstance connected with my mission to Bokhara. The Government of England was thoroughly convinced that the report of Stoddart and Conolly's death was true, and a mighty vizier, Sir Robert Peel by name, openly stated all circumstances in the House where all the grandees of the empire assemble; but some friends of mine and myself doubted the fact, especially as I was well treated at Bokhara twelve years ago. These few friends have allowed me one thousand tillahs for my journey to and from Bokhara. If Stoddart and Conolly had been

alive, I might have thought myself authorized to spend two thousand four hundred and thirty tillahs, and even more, for their release; but as they are dead, I have neither authority from my friends who have sent me, nor from Government."

Nayeb. Stoddart and Conolly's pay was but two hundred rupees a month, and yet they would have paid one hundred thousand tillahs: how much would you pay if you were imprisoned?

Here I perceived the height of my unguarded observation, and I began to tremble, and was already somewhat afraid that the Nayeb was not quite sincere. The Makhram departed, and it was already about midnight, when suddenly Makhram Kasem came from the city to the garden, breathing hard; the gate was shut, but his Majesty had ordered the gate to be opened. The Makhram told us that when he brought the written conversation held between the Nayeb and myself, Hasrat his (Majesty) was sitting with his head supported by his hands, when suddenly he started and exclaimed, "What did Youssuff Wolff say?" They gave him the paper to read: he immediately sent word that the ambassador would be ready in a few days to depart with me to England, with presents for the Queen. "Now," said the Nayeb, "you have permission to leave; and after to-morrow we send for Mortesa the Kafila Bashi, who goes to Meshed; and before you leave, there will be also ready articles of Conolly and Stoddart."

At this period, by order of the Ameer, I addressed the following letter to Captain Grover, giving the official details of the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly:

(OFFICIAL.)

Sir, Bokhara, May 5, 1844.

I write this letter in the house of Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, the chief of the artillery and of the arsenal of his Majesty the king of Bokhara, a sincere and excellent friend of the British nation, and in the presence also of his Majesty the Ameer's Makhram (private chamberlain); and I write this letter officially, by order of the king of Bokhara, to whom I give a translation of the

letter, and therefore confine myself only to the most necessary topics, without comment, and without any observation on my part.

1st. On the 29th of April, the King stated to me, by medium of the above-named Nayeb, and in the presence of Mullah Kasem the king's Makhram (private chamberlain), that he had put to death, in the month of Sarratan, 1259, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Colonel Stoddart was put to death,—firstly, on account of his having treated Royalty with the greatest disrespect on different occasions; secondly, that he had turned Mussulman and then returned to the Christian faith; thirdly, that he had promised to get letters from England, and fourteen months had elapsed without receiving any answer, though the king had erected Japar-khanas (post-houses) on his account. And with regard to Conolly, that he had been put to death for having induced the Khans of Khiva and Khokand to wage war against the king of Bokhara, &c. His Majesty has given me permission to leave Bokhara on the 9th of May, *i. e.* Friday next.

From Meshed I shall write every thing more fully.

I am, Sir,

Your humble and obedient servant,

JOSEPH WOLFF,

Mullah of England.

A musical band played "God save the Queen." They were Hindees from Lahore, formerly in the service of Runjeet Singh.

The Jews *Elias* and *Haym* called on me and said, "We also saw poor Stoddart and Conolly brought bound to the slaughter. Habeeb, one of the Makhrams, said, "Would it were in my power to kill Saadat!" When we passed the place of execution, this fellow showed us, with the delight of a demon, the heads of Stoddart and Conolly, and observed, "*Here are the heads of the Infidels!*"

Abdul Samut Khan gave me also the following circumstantial account of the death of one *Todderweis*, a German, who had known Abdul Samut Khan in India, and who had been killed, on his own showing, at Bokhara; and though the said Todderweis was all the time alive at Teheraun, it is only an additional proof that Stoddart and Conolly and Wyburd had

been killed, and that Abdul Samut Khan was the murderer of them.

Abdul Samut Khan related to me the murder of Todderweis in the following manner: "Now think, Mullah Joseph Wolff, what a tyrant the Ameer is! Todderweis, a German, wrote to me from Heraut, that he wished to be employed in the service of the Ameer. I wrote to him *that he should not come;* but in spite of my warning, he set out for Bokhara. As soon as he came to the frontier he was blindfolded, brought to Bokhara, and without my being allowed to see him he was put to death. If I could have seen him, or spoken to him, I might have saved him; but you Europeans are suspicious, and Todderweis did not even use my name."

Now, on my arrival at Teheraun, I found Todderweis alive, who told me that Abdul Samut Khan had most particularly urged him to come to Bokhara; but when he (Todderweis) heard of the death of Stoddart and Conolly, he changed his mind and did not go, though he had written to Abdul Samut Khan that he was preparing to set out. However, another European went instead of him, "who was immediately seized, blindfolded, brought to Bokhara, and put to death," as Yar Muhammed Khan told me. This is the account of Todderweis. It agrees with what I heard from several Usbecks at Bokhara, that Abdul Samut Khan triumphantly said, when the European from Heraut was executed, "I deceived him, and made the infidel come here." He did so, and then denounced him as a spy, and therefore he was blindfolded and executed; and as Abdul Samut Khan's intended victim was Todderweis, he supposed that he had entrapped his former friend, and not a total stranger. The infamous character of the Nayeb is only the more apparent from this change of circumstances.

CHAPTER XII.

Colleges of Bokhara—Manner of Lecturing. Derveeshes supported by the Ameer. Jewish Synagogue at Bokhara—The king of Bokhara attached to the Jewish Religion. Bokhara and Samarcand. Singular Report of Dr. Wolff, that he understood seventy-two Languages, knew seventy-two Religions, and had conversed with seventy-two Nations, and that he had come from Sulmistaun to convert the Bokharese. Makhram sent from the Ameer with a Question, How the Authenticity of the Christian Religion is shown? Answer. Makhram sent again, with a Request that the History of Muhammed, as related by the Learned Men of Europe, should be written by Dr. Wolff, and transmitted to the King. —Dr. Wolff consents, on the condition that he should not be forced to embrace Muhammedanism. Dr. Wolff writes the Life of Muhammed.

The day following the conversation with the Nayeb, given in the previous chapter, (it was on a Monday), the Makhram, Dil Assa Khan, and myself, mounted our horses. Dil Assa Khan now began to ride near me, the Makhram Kasem spoke in a friendly manner, and pointed out to me the colleges of Bokhara, which are splendid and beautiful buildings.

In these colleges the writings of the learned Sunnées, as well as of the Sheahs, are read and discussed. Oratory, rhetoric, poetry, and logic are studied, besides the *Koran;* disputations are carried on in a scholastic manner; Jelsal, Beydawee, are read. They take as their guide the schools established in Yemen. And, as I have witnessed it when in Yemen in the year 1837, it is remarkable that the very mode of opening their lectures is taken from the manner adopted in Yemen. The teacher as well as disciple lifts up his eyes first to heaven, the palms of his hands are then turned to his face while the Fatkha is recited, and then they stroke their beards; and I must observe that all judicial transactions are opened in this manner, and after a present is given from a superior

to an inferior, it is also recited. The same custom exists in Yemen, and only in Yemen, by which it appears to me that Bokhara has taken her customs and manners from the learned of Yemen. They have a convent at Bokhara, dedicated to the famous derveesh Mawlana Jelaal Uddeen, who centuries ago went from Bokhara to Iconium. The derveeshes at Bokhara are fed at the expense of the Ameer, but he does not permit them to indulge in any impertinencies, and frequently bastinadoes and puts them to death.

The Synagogue of the Jews at Bokhara is a very ancient building, but quite out of repair. The Ameer gave his consent, during my stay there, to the Jews to repair the synagogue a little, but not to extend the ground. They have here an ancient MS. of Daniel, and in chap. viii. is the number two thousand four hundred, instead of two thousand three hundred.

Though the king of Bokhara is a friend to none, yet he seems to have some predilection for the ceremonies of the Jewish religion; he frequently goes to the house of Rabbi Simha on the day of Tabernacles, and sees them celebrate that feast, and partakes of their dinner. He has never seized on a Jewish woman, as he has done on the wives of his great ministers. He has even appropriated to himself the wife of the excellent Grand Kazi. He is also anxious to learn from them their views of the Messiah.

I shall now take this opportunity of saying a few words on the cities of Bokhara and Samarcand.

Bokhara is situated in 39° 37′ north latitude, 80° 19′ east longitude. It is surrounded by deserts, and watered by the little river Wafkan, which flows between forests of fruit-trees and gardens. It has eleven gates, and a circumference of fifteen English miles; three hundred and sixty mosques, twenty-two caravanserays, many baths and bazaars, and the old palace called Ark, built by Arslan Khan one thousand years ago, and has about one hundred splendid colleges. The houses have neither roofs nor windows. The population

amounts to one hundred and eighty thousand, composed of *Tatshicks*, Nogays, Affghauns, Mervee, Usbecks, and ten thousand Jews, who are dyers and silk traders, and must wear a small cap, and girdle around their waist, to be distinguished from the Muhammedans. There are several thousand slaves. There are about three hundred merchants from Scinde, and many derveeshes. Whole streets contain nothing but shops and magazines for merchants from all the parts of Türkistaun, Cashgar, Hindüstaun, and Russia. There are great numbers of country-houses, with gardens called Jehaar-Baghs, in the suburbs. Most delightful villages are to be found for eight miles around Bokhara. A sickness prevails, chiefly in the city, called *Rishta*—an immense worm comes out of the knees, and makes people frequently lame for life; it is ascribed to the water. Ophthalmia is also prevalent. There is only one Jewish physician of any skill, who prides himself on knowing the sense of the word "antimonial," and perpetually uses it, as Abdul Samut Khan prides himself on knowing how to say, "Halt! front!"

Karkée, near the Amoo, is a strong town, with one hundred and fifty houses, about one hundred English miles from Bokhara.

In the cities of Orateps, Karakol, and Jesagh, the Usbeck chiefs, called Serkerdeha, have their country-houses; but they are now much oppressed by Nasir Ullah Behadur, the present king of Bokhara, who often takes possession of their wives and sons. * * * *

The chief of the mullahs at Bokhara has the title of Mullah Kelaun (grand mullah), a man of excellent character, who deplores the murder of poor Stoddart and Conolly.

Of Samarcand, the rival city, formerly the place of residency of Timur, in the midst of the beautiful valley Soghd, I have to remark, that it was not long since the seat of the king of Bokhara in the time of winter; but as this town is frequently in a state of mutiny, he seldom goes there. It was known in

the time of Alexander the Great by the name of Marakanda Regia Sogdianorum, and contains the sepulchre of Timur. It is still the seat of oriental literature, and called 'the Ornament of the Face of the Earth.' It has a wall of clay, and forty thousand inhabitants; a beautiful palace, and many houses of marble; many mosques and colleges. It was formerly inhabited by Chinese, who manufactured paper of silk; and it once had the name of Bokhara-Tsheen, but received the present name from the conqueror Samar, after Christ 643. Oologh Beyk erected there an observatory. There are two thousand Jews there. Near it is a little town called Sheeras, and it is probable that the poet Hafiz alluded to Sheeras near Samarcand in his lines,—

> "If that Turkish girl of Sheeras would give me her heart,
> I would give, for one mole of her cheek, Samarcand and Bokhara."

for there are no Turkish girls at Sheeras in Persia.

A report was spread abroad, I found, throughout the whole country of Bokhara, that Mullah Joseph Wolff, the grand derveesh from England, was acquainted with seventy-two languages, with seventy-two religions, and had conversed with seventy-two nations of the earth. That, further, I had been in Sulmistaun, *i. e.* the 'land of darkness,' Tartarus, and that I had called on the Ameer to compel all the inhabitants of Bokhara to embrace the religion of Jesus.

The Ameer sent one day to me the Makhram, with the following question, of which I was obliged to write down the answer: "How do the Christian mullahs prove the truth of their religion?"

I replied: I. That its Divine Founder, Jesus, and his religion, were predicted, centuries before his coming on earth, by the prophets of old.

II. By the miracles which Jesus performed, and which miracles were admitted to have been performed by Him by his own enemies.

III. By the life and conversation of Jesus.

IV. By the prophecies which He uttered, and which were fulfilled; as, for instance, the destruction of Jerusalem was predicted by him.

V. By the effect which Christianity produced. Christianity teaches a man to set a proper value on human blood. The Christians feel more horror, consequently, than many other nations at the shedding of human blood.

VI. Christianity fills the heart with compassion and love, even towards others who are not our own people. The Christians are the only people who have established houses for the sick, where they receive attendance and medicine without money; and also asylums for aged people, and for widows and orphans.

On another day, when surrounded by many Kalmucks, Merve, Usbecks, Jews, Kaffer Seeah-Poosh, Hindūs from Shikarpore, together with Dil Assa Khan, his Majesty sent to me his Makhram with the following command,—that I should give him the history of their prophet Muhammed, as related by the learned men among the English and other European nations. This was rather a delicate point, and I therefore first asked his Majesty, whether this would lead to any attempt at forcing me to become a Muhammedan? He sent me word "Not in the least." I wrote down as follows:

May God preserve Nasir Ullah Behadur, Ameer of the Mussulmans, and Shaheen-Shah of Bokhara, the most learned of the Ulema of the Bokhara Shereef!

Your Majesty's wisdom, anxious to know the customs and manners and religious sentiments of other nations, imitating in this respect your great ancestor Timur Kurikanee, has graciously ordered me to write down the history of Muhammed as related by Christian historians; a task most difficult for me to perform, since, 1st. I am not so well versed in the Persian language as to write in an elegant style, as such a subject deserves: 2nd. I wish to perform the task in such a manner that it may be consistent with truth, and at the same time not to wound the feelings of any one.

But as, according to the religion of Jesus, we must obey the commands of kings as far as their commands do not insult the commands of Jesus; and your Majesty having promised that my undertaking will not lead to a renunciation of my religion, I submit to your Majesty's command by thus writing down the history of Muhammed the son of Abd Ullah, the Prophet of the Mussulmans.

The empire of Rome was in the decline; the followers of Jesus, forgetting the precepts of the Anjeel (Gospel), given up to vice; Persia was enervated; the government of the Yoonaanean, residing in the place called at that time Byzantium, and now Stambool, was given to bad morals; and Arabistaun was divided by internal dissensions in the affairs of this world as well as in religion. No wonder that God sent his chastisement upon all these nations. A man, therefore, was wanted to achieve the overthrow of Asia and part of Africa. Such a man appeared in the person of Muhammed, of the family of Hashem, of the tribe of Koreish.

The office of Superintendent (Shereef) of the Kaaba at Mecca, had been at first hereditary in the family of Ishmael; afterwards, for some centuries, it was vested in the tribe of Khoza; and in the year 464 after Jesus, the tribe of Koreish deprived the Khozaites of this office by cunning, and afterwards by open force. The office of Shereef of the Kaaba was connected with certain advantages: he that occupied so high a situation enjoyed, not only great influence over the city of Mecca, but also, as the holy house was an object of veneration amongst all the tribes, over the whole of Arabia. This high dignity, combined with the government of Mecca, descended through four generations to Abd Almutaleb, son of Hashem, grandfather to Muhammed, the prince and chief of his tribe. Abd Almutaleb had rendered the most essential services to his country. To prevent general famine, the father of Abd Almutaleb had in aforetime made provision, by permanent regulations, for regular importations of corn, by means of two numerous caravans, which departed and returned regularly; and Abd Almutaleb himself had liberated his country by his valour and prudence from the yoke of the Abyssinians. His liberality was not only extended to men, but the birds of the air and the beasts of the field felt the effect of his benevolence. On a certain day of every month he fed all the poor of the city upon the roof of his house; and also directed his servants to carry appropriate food to the beasts on the

hills. Abd Almutaleb was crowned also by the plenitude of domestic blessings: he had thirteen hopeful sons, and six beautiful daughters. Abd Ullah was one of his younger sons, and his favourite child. He was the jewel of Arabian youths. But not less beautiful and modest was Amina, Waheb's daughter, a Jewess of the noble family of the Zarhites.

Abd Almutaleb married his favourite son to this beautiful girl. But in the fourth year of her marriage, when she was about to have a child, her husband, on a journey which he had undertaken for commercial purposes, died at Yatreb, now called Medinah. Abd Ullah had had no time to acquire riches; the whole property he left to his disconsolate widow consisted of five camels and one Abyssinian slave-girl, Barek by name. Two months after the death of her husband, on the 12th day of Raba (April 10, 569 A. D.), in the afternoon, Amina gave birth to a boy, who received from his grandfather the name of Muhammed.

To celebrate the happy delivery of his daughter, Abd Almutaleb prepared a splendid feast, to which he invited the most distinguished of his family, and in their presence he gave to his grandson the name of Muhammed; and the Arabian historians add, that the family of Koreish, astonished at this, said to Abd Almutaleb, "Why dost thou call the boy thus, as no other of thy tribe bears that name?" Abd Almutaleb replied, "God shall glorify him in heaven whom He has created on earth." We Christians, however, say that the miraculous events which are said to have taken place at his birth, according to Abulfeda, Elmakin, and Masoodee, are evidently imitations of the Gospel narrative of the birth of Christ; for instance, that rays of light appeared in heaven, which illuminated all the towns, villages, and markets throughout Arabia and Syria; and even many Muhammedan writers doubt these facts, even among the Sunnée.

Muhammed was consigned to the care of a nurse, Halima by name; and when he was old enough, he kept the flock of his foster brothers and sisters. The boy grew up thriving, lively in spirits, and strong in body; but was attacked by epileptic fits, which rapidly increased to such a degree, that Halima, in fear, returned the boy to the care of his mother. But his mother died in his sixth year, on a journey to see her uncle, and was buried at Al-Aba, between Medinah and Mecca. Abd Almutaleb undertook the guardianship of Muhammed; but in the boy's eighth year he

also died, at the age of a hundred and ten years; and in his dying hour recommended the orphan to the care of Abu Taleb, who became his successor in the office of Shereef.

Abu Taleb was a wise man, highly respected at Mecca and in the whole surrounding country; he was merchant, warrior, and hunter. He undertook the education of Muhammed, exercised him in military hardihood, and tried to inspire him with courage, by taking him with him in his expeditions for hunting the lion. Besides, he made the boy acquainted with mercantile business, for which purpose he took him on a journey to Syria. Among his travelling companions were Abu-Bekr and Belal, who became afterwards his most zealous partisans in the promulgation of his new religion. On that journey they came near Bosra, in Syria, adjacent to Damascus, where Abu Taleb was acquainted with the monks of the Mandaye, who resided there. The monk Boohyra, of that convent, observed, "Muhammed will become a great man," and Muhammed believed himself the more to be a chosen vessel in the hand of Providence. He had frequently heard wise men, in the house of his uncle, urge the necessity of combining together the conflicting religions of the Arabs into one pure religion, and reducing all the tribes of the nation under the obedience of one common creed. Besides, the historical traditions of the Arabs had much analogy to those of the Hebrews, and coincided with them in a great number of points; for, as they were of the Shemitic race, they deduced their origin from Abraham and the other holy patriarchs of the primitive world. Hence the traditions of a purer faith, and the simple patriarchal worship of the Deity, appear never to have been totally extinguished among the Arabs. In this manner a spark was thrown into the glowing imagination of Muhammed, which produced that mighty Arabian conflagration whose flames were scattered to Türkistaun, Hindüstaun, and Affghanistaun by the sons of the desert.

After their return to Mecca they resumed their usual occupations, Muhammed, as before, spending his time in commercial pursuits and military exploits; and on account of his tall figure and graceful deportment, he was considered the finest and handsomest man in Arabia. When he was twenty years of age, a feud broke out between the tribe of Koreish and the two tribes of Kenan (the Rechabites) and Hawazan. Under the order of Abu Taleb, Muhammed had the command of a small body of horse; and he distinguished himself so much by his courage and intrepidity, as well as by his

judicious arrangements, that, by the unanimous voice of his allies, as well as his opponents, the victory was ascribed to the valour of Muhammed. Abu Taleb and the house of Hashem were much gratified with the military glory of Muhammed.

Other circumstances also combined to raise the reputation of Muhammed. Long before the time of Muhammed, the Kaaba of Mecca had been constituted the great sanctuary of Arabian worship. It contained the Black Stone, the object of the religious devotion of the Arabs from a very ancient period. We meet with a similar form of worship among the Sikhs at Lahore, with regard to the stone called Salkram. When the tribe of Koreish began to rebuild this temple, they were at a loss to know how the Black Stone should be fixed in the wall, and what hands should touch it, when, unexpectedly, the lot fell to young Muhammed. He received from this moment the name of Alameen, the trustworthy. Khadijah, a rich widow, took him into her service. On behalf of his mistress he returned to Syria, and renewed his acquaintance with Boohyra at Bosra. Boohyra made him acquainted with the contents of ancient books, and Solomon the Jew spoke to him of the expectations of the Jewish nation; and the hope which the Jews still entertained of the future coming of a Deliverer and Prophet, operated powerfully on the mind and imagination of Muhammed.

In the service of Khadijah, Muhammed undertook other journeys to distant Arabia and the Persian Gulf; crossed the Euphrates, and stood on the ruins of Babylon, and visited Mesopotamia and Persia. He no longer travelled as a mere commercial agent, but tried to enrich his mind and intellect by various sciences: wherever he came he tried to make himself acquainted with the state of the country, with the laws and character of the natives, and especially the different religions; and the never-ceasing divisions, wherever he came, were the chief object of his attention. Burning with a desire of knowledge, he associated with every one of whom he believed he could learn something. Sometimes he frequented the company of the disciples of John the Baptist, of Zoroaster, Manichæans, and other sects.

One day, as Khadijah was walking with her companions on the terrace of her house, she saw Muhammed returning from his journey. Khadijah sent one of her slave girls after him, requesting him to become her husband; and she bestowed her hand on him when his whole property consisted of five camels and an Ethiopian

maid-servant. A splendid feast was given at the wedding, to which all the inhabitants of Mecca were invited. Twenty-four years Muhammed and Khadijah lived together, contented and happy, blessed with four sons and four daughters. None of the sons survived,—the daughters grew up; their names were Fatima, Zaima, Rukaya, and Usu Khaltoon. He lived fifteen years, pursuing his public functions with great conscientiousness, treating all inferiors with great mildness, and was a most tender husband; his moral character without reproach,—his outward conduct without blame.

He continued for some time his commercial journeyings, when suddenly he lost at once all desire to travel, loved retirement more and more, and at last retreated, during part of every year, to a cave three hours distant from Mecca, giving himself up to meditation; when suddenly he declared himself—first of all to Khadijah and his children—as the long-desired Rasool Ullah, Ambassador of God. It was in the night time of the 23rd and 24th of Ramadân, in the night of the divine decree, that Muhammed declared he had heard a voice upon the mountain of Abuk Beis. When he came down from the mountain,—as the Arabian historians some centuries after his death relate,—a heavenly light suddenly illuminated the country around, and the *Koran* descended from heaven. The bearer was, according to your Prophet's account, the angel Gabriel, who also had taught him to read; and he said he had been hailed by the angel Gabriel as the highest Prophet of God,—*which we Christians do not believe.* The angel took the *Koran* back with him to heaven, but gave Muhammed the assurance that he would, from time to time, as the occasion arose, give him portions of it, divided into Suras. Khadijah declared herself his convert; Waraka, a Jew, and translator of the Bible, also became a convert; after him Ali, and Abd Ullah, who received the name of Abu Bekr, the father of the virgin, as Muhammed married his daughter.

Abu Bekr, thirty-four years of age, a man of great weight, engaged other men of authority to embrace the doctrines of your Prophet. However, Muhammed confined himself first of all to his nearest relations and acquaintance, to whom he preached, sometimes in elegant prose, at others in verses, the dogmas of his religion, and in three years he had made about forty converts. At last he declared that Gabriel had ordered him to preach openly and from the house-top to the whole nation.

He invited the tribe of Hashem to a frugal dinner; after the repast was over, he offered to them uninterrupted happiness in this life, as well as in eternity, by embracing his doctrine. The guests looked at him with much astonishment, believing him to be mad. Muhammed threatened them with eternal hell fire, which inflamed Abu Lahab, one of his uncles, with such fury, that he cast a stone at him; when Ali interfered, and declared that he would knock out the teeth, force out the eyes, tear the entrails, and break the bones of every one of those who dared to resist the Prophet. Muhammed was so rejoiced at the emphatic confession of Ali, that he embraced him as a brother; but when he went so far as to nominate Ali, who at that time was fourteen, as his Khaleefa, whom every one was to obey, all the guests burst out into a fit of laughter. The bad success of this first attempt was far from discouraging Muhammed; under the protection of Abu Taleb, who, though not a convert himself, still favoured his nephew's enterprise, Muhammed appeared before the people with the pretension of a Prophet, and announced his doctrine by the name of *Islam*. The more resistance he encountered, the more he pressed forward.

The Koreish attempted to crush him, but in vain. Muhammed, however, too weak to resist openly, advised his followers to fly from Mecca. Eighty-three of them, with their wives and children, took shelter under the king of Abyssinia; but Muhammed remained at Mecca under the protection of his uncle. The principal men of the Koreish went to Abu Taleb, and said, "Thy nephew reviles our religion and sage ancestors, and, accusing them of ignorance and infidelity, makes dissensions and rebellion." Muhammed replied, "Even if they were to place the sun to my right hand, and the moon to my left, they shall not bring me back from the road I have taken." However, when the Koreish made an attempt upon his life, he took an asylum in a fortified house upon the hill Zaffa, near Mecca, defended by thirty-nine followers. He had scarcely remained there one month, when his party gained the important acquisition of two powerful men,—that of Hamsa, Muhammed's uncle, and Omar. Under their protection Muhammed left Zaffa, and, with an armed escort, he approached the Kaaba, and boldly preached in the open market-places of Mecca. The Koreish challenged him to perform a miracle. His answers were, on one occasion, "That he was commissioned to be a preacher only, and

not a worker of miracles." At another time he replied, "that God, out of mercy, would not perform miracles; for it would only redound to the greater condemnation of the infidels, who after all would not believe."

The Koreish assembled in the valley of Mecca, in the plain of Muhazzab, in order to consult. The result of their consultation was, not to lay down their arms until they had exterminated the declared enemy of the state, with his whole family, either by the sword, dagger, or poison. This mighty conspiracy was reported to Abu Taleb; Muhammed and the family of Hashem were sent for; they immediately fortified themselves in a country-house of Abu Taleb, two miles distant from Mecca. When the Koreish saw that their conspiracy was discovered, they openly proscribed and excommunicated Muhammed, and his whole family and followers. They marched against him, but they were not able to succeed; he was already too powerful. They attempted to starve him, by cutting off the wells and provisions; but he had already too many friends. In his fortress he pronounced his curse against Abu Lahab. They fought for three years with mutual success and defeat; but, during the four holy months, when the Arabs were obliged to observe a strict armistice, and in which it was not allowed to employ either sword or lance, Muhammed went forth from his fortress and proclaimed himself to the people, and to the pilgrims journeying towards Mecca, as the Ambassador of God. The persecutions he underwent by his opponents fired him with greater zeal,—the natural effect of persecutions.

He spoke with amazing eloquence,—every sentence which he uttered fell upon the heads of his enemies like a clap of thunder; great numbers were added to his party, among them the most distinguished citizens of Medinah. In this emergency of the state, when the downfall and the total overthrow of the constitution of Mecca was to be apprehended, the Arabs chose Habeeb, one of their mighty princes, who had twenty thousand cavalry under his command, as arbiter between them and the Hashemites. Habeeb was one hundred years of age, a Jew in his youth, then a Sabean, and after a Christian, but celebrated in Yemen for his love of justice and wisdom. He undertook willingly the office of arbiter, and encamped with three thousand horse in the plain of Muhazzeb. Muhammed appeared before the judgment-seat of Habeeb; but here Muhammed knew how to state his case with such presence

of mind, that he was honourably acquitted by Habeeb, and even taken under his powerful protection. Habeeb observed to those around him, "Nothing will be able to stem this mighty torrent: he will succeed, and idolatry shall be crushed!" Tranquillity was restored thus at Mecca, but only for a short time.

Muhammed made use of the short period of armistice to get the sentence of excommunication recalled, which had been pronounced by the Koreish against the Hashemites, and which excommunication had been deposited in the Kaaba. He sent word to the family of Koreish, that God had revealed to him that a worm had been sent by him into the Kaaba, in order to gnaw through the document of excommunication deposited in the Ark, *except that spot where the name of God was written.* The family of Koreish examined the document; and on finding this to be the case, they annulled it altogether.

But in the tenth year of his mission, his uncle Abu Taleb and his wife Khadijah died; and the greatest enemy of his family, Abu Suffian, of the tribe of Ummia, succeeded to Abu Taleb in the government of Mecca. Many of his followers, from fear, left Muhammed; so that he undertook, in the company of his faithful disciple Sayëd, a journey to Tayëf, thirty miles eastward from Mecca, where he received but a cold reception, and was banished from the city as a madman.

Resistance and obstacles incited the more the audacity and courage of Muhammed. He returned again to Mecca, and, without taking the least notice of Abu Suffian's threats, he preached from the house-tops to the swarm of pilgrims, and made hosts of proselytes, and gained over to his doctrine six of the most respectable citizens of Medinah, of the noble tribe of Khasredj and Aus, allied with the Jewish tribe of Karaites and Nadir, who had the greatest influence in Medinah and throughout the Arabian republic. These six citizens swore allegiance to Muhammed, and bound themselves by an oath never to forsake him, and to bear witness of his divine message to the family of Aus, and before all the rest of the tribes. The enthusiasm of these six citizens laid the first foundation of the worldly grandeur of Muhammed; and his supremacy gave to the history of the world a new direction.

Till this period, Gabriel only was the person who initiated him as a prophet; but in the twelfth year of his mission he obtained a higher call. On the night of the 20th of the month of Rajab,

while Muhammed slept in the valley between Saffa and Merva, suddenly he was awaked by a voice saying, "Sleeper, awake!" When he opened his eyes, he saw Gabriel standing before him in his true figure, enwrapped in rays of light, having round his forehead a royal tiara, upon which was written, in strokes of fire, the words,

There is God, and nothing but God, and Muhammed the Prophet of God.

The angel announced to him that the Highest had called his Prophet to converse with Him. A horse, saddled and bridled, Al Barak, *i. e.* the lightning horse, stood near the angel, which had the head of a horse, but with the face of a man, two wings like an eagle, his colour grey, mixed with white, but resplendent like the stars when illuminated with the light of the sun. The horse was unruly, and when Gabriel reminded him that he stood before Muhammed the Prophet, it availed nothing until Muhammed himself promised that a good stable in Paradise should be provided for his comfort: then he was calm and resigned. Gabriel took hold of the bridle, and with the swiftness of thought they arrived at Jerusalem, where, at the gate of the Temple, a multitude of patriarchs and prophets were standing, desiring his intercession and blessing, and wishing him a happy journey. Barak was tied to a rock, and Muhammed ascended with Gabriel on a ladder up toward heaven. For a few moments they stood before the gates of the heavenly realm. The porter, on being informed that Gabriel and Muhammed stood without, immediately opened the gate; when an old man came to meet the Prophet, who bowed with deep humility, and recommended himself to the prayers of Muhammed. This old man was no other than Adam, the father of the human race.

The journey extended to the second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh heaven. The first was of silver, set with jewels; the second of gold; the third of transparent diamonds; another vaulted entirely with the odour of roses and other flowers; but the seventh consisted of nothing but splendour and divine light. He conversed with Abraham in the seventh heaven, and there he observed two angels continually occupied in writing the names of some men, and erasing those of others.

In the seventh heaven the angel Gabriel left him, and he alone continued his progress to the throne of God. When he approached his foot-stool, he read the inscription, "God, and nothing but

God." The Almighty laid his hands upon Muhammed's breast and shoulders. God revealed to his Prophet deep mysteries, and granted him many prerogatives,—the knowledge of languages, and the privilege of retaining for his own private use the spoils taken in battle: also an order from God that his followers should pray fifty times a-day; which, however, at his instant intercession, was reduced to five times.

He returned, accompanied by Gabriel, to Jerusalem, where he mounted his horse Al Barak, and was in the twinkling of an eye again in the plain between Saffa and Merva, one mile from Mecca. The whole journey, which, according to Arab calculations, required eleven thousand years to perform, was accomplished by him in less than an hour. Gabriel then took leave of him, and Al Barak, the horse, reminded Muhammed most humbly of his promise to provide a comfortable stable for him in Paradise.

But his friends begged him not to speak openly of his journey to heaven, as it would only expose him to ridicule. However, Muhammed openly proclaimed it, and Abu Bekr confirmed it; but the family of Koreish declared that he must be either mad or an impostor; but he was more successful at Medinah, where the story was not only believed, but embellished by his followers. With the assistance of his disciple Mozab, the greater part of Medinah was converted to him. Seventy-two men and women were sent to Mecca from Medinah to Muhammed to pay him homage, and they promised him, after a secret conversation with him, to assist him in war, defensive and offensive. He nominated immediately twelve chiefs, whom he endowed with *temporal* and *ecclesiastical* power. Before they returned, the ambassador asked Muhammed, "After thy native place shall have acknowledged thy virtues and thy merits, wilt thou forsake us?" He answered with a smile, "All is now common among us: your blood is my blood; your happiness is my happiness; your misfortune my misfortune. The bonds of religion have united us together for ever; yea, the bonds of honour and general interest. I am your friend, and for ever the enemy of your enemies." They replied, "If we should fall in thy service, what would be our reward?" He replied, "Paradise." They then said, "Muhammed, give us thy hand." He gave his hand as a pledge, and the union was made for ever; and from that time Islam was the ruling and universal religion of the inhabitants of Medinah.

This union produced general consternation among the tribe of Koreish. They determined to murder Muhammed, whose followers were scattered abroad; but he was saved by his nephew Ali, and Muhammed took shelter with Abu Bekr. They both escaped. Abu Bekr was oppressed with gloomy thoughts. "Why art thou cast down?" Muhammed asked him. "Dost thou not know that we are not alone?" "Who is with us?" asked Abu Bekr. "Ullah," (God,) Muhammed answered.

They hid themselves in a cave in the mountains of Tur. The tribe of Koreish came near the cave, but did not observe them. After three days they left the cave. Abu Bekr procured two camels and a guide, by name Abd Ullah, an idolater, and they commenced their journey to Medinah. But suddenly they were overtaken by Sorak, one of the Koreish cavalry, who ran upon them with his lance; but his horse took fright, which gave Muhammed and Abu Bekr time to escape, and they arrived safely at Medinah.

This flight, called the Hejra, 622 A. C., was the beginning of a new era. After a fatiguing journey of twelve days along the seashore, they at last arrived at Medinah on a Friday, when Muhammed made his solemn and pompous entrance, met by five hundred citizens, and all the fugitives who had preceded him. Muhammed sat on a she-camel, and an umbrella of palm-leaves sheltered him from the sun. Abu Bekr rode by his side, and Boreida before him, with a flag in his hand. Thousands saluted the Prophet in the street, and from the windows of the houses. He was received with shouts of jubilee and joy. Thousands desired him to be their guest, but Abu Tayeb had the honour of receiving the Prophet under his roof.

A few days after, he laid the foundation of a mosque and a house for himself and family. Both buildings were completed in less than eleven months, for Paradise was the reward promised to the builders. He next began to exercise the functions of High-priest and King. He instituted public prayers; he preached daily under a palm-tree; appointed the times of fasts and ablutions. Magi, idolaters, Persians, and Jews came daily to Medinah to pay homage to the Prophet, and he made any reform he pleased in the state. At last he held a public levee, nominated civil and military officers, and commanded every Mussulman to take the sword, or pay a contribution for the expense of the war,

at the first summons of the Apostle; and every war declared by Muhammed was styled the *holy war*. He had a great seal, with the words engraved on it, "Muhammed the Prophet of God."

The battle of Bedr was fought in the year 623. Abu Suffian marched against Muhammed with seventy-five thousand men; the Prophet had only fifteen thousand to oppose to him. Already he was defeated; shouts of triumph were heard from the camp of the enemy, when Muhammed himself came forward with a detachment of troops from an ambush, and exclaimed, with a voice of thunder, "Angel Gabriel! come down with eleven thousand angels!" Arrows were flying and darts hurled at the same moment; his already-defeated army, imagining themselves to be protected by invisible hosts of celestial warriors, took fresh courage, and Abu Suffian's army, struck with a panic, took flight, and Muhammed gained the victory.

Immediately after the battle of Bedr, that of Ohod was fought. Khaleed, the son of Waleed, marched against Muhammed. The idol of Lat and Uthal, the protector of Khaleed's army, was placed at a little distance, guarded by only a few men. Muhammed was again giving way, when he rode up to Ali, and commanded him to hasten with a detachment of cavalry to the idol, and break it to pieces. Ali, with the swiftness of lightning, obeyed his command. Khaleed's army, perceiving their idol destroyed, took to flight, and Muhammed again was victorious.

At length, in the year 629, the daughter of a Rechabite,—like another Jael, mentioned in the history of the Jews,—undertook to deliver Arabia from Muhammed; she administered poison to Muhammed, which produced inflammation in the brain. "None has ever suffered such pains as I do," he observed to Omar. "Go thou, and perform the prayer in the mosque, instead of me." Already Omar had ascended the pulpit, when Muhammed raised himself upon his couch, and said to his attendants, "Pour cold water over me." They obeyed; he then rose from his bed, and said, "As long as I shall have breath in me, I shall perform public prayer myself." He went to the mosque, and called to Omar to stop. He performed the prayers with a loud voice,—went home,—laid down on his bed,—uttered three dreadful shrieks: his last words were, "Rasool Ullah," (Ambassador of God),—and expired.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sensation produced by the Life of Muhammed—Copies of it circulated through Balkh, Khoollom, Mazaur, and Cabûl—Remarks of the Sheikh Islam on it. Yar Muhammed Khan advises the King to behead Dr. Wolff. Ak Muhammed Beyk appointed Ambassador from Bokhara to England. Mischief occasioned by the Servants of Colonel Stoddart—Colonel Stoddart ends his diplomatic Relations with Yar Muhammed Khan by kicking him down stairs. Questions by the Makhrams—King's Remark on Dr. Wolff's Personal Appearance. The People call Dr. Wolff *Khoob Ademee*, "the Good Man." The King gives him three Names. High reputation of Sir Moses Montefiore among the Jews of Bokhara. Further questions put by the Makhrams by order of the Ameer to Dr. Wolff—Dr. Wolff's reply to each. The Dastar Khanjee a disgrace to Manhood. Peculiar Character of the Post at Bokhara—The Ameer reads all the Letters of his Subjects. Interview of Dr. Wolff with the Ameer. Dr. Wolff demands of the Ameer the Bones of Stoddart and Conolly—The King threatens to send Dr. Wolff's Bones to England. Dr. Wolff hears of the Villany of Abdul Samut Khan from various persons—Refused permission to depart by reason of the Detention of the Bokhara Ambassador in Persia—Writes to Colonel Sheil—Russian Slaves refused Liberation. Conversation with the Officers of the Nayeb. Hassan Shirazi.

THE sensation excited by my paper on Muhammed, as soon as copied and delivered to his Majesty the king, was immense. He sent for the Sheikh Islam, for the Kazi Kelaun, and all the rest of the mullahs. The Sheikh Islam observed, "This Life must be kept among the library in the great mosque: and it is remarkable with what prudence Joseph Wolff has contrived to state his sentiments without giving offence, and at the same time delivers with sincerity the sentiments of wise Christians with regard to our Prophet." Copies were ordered by his Majesty to be taken and sent to Balkh, Khoollom, and Mazaur; and Mullah Buddr-Deen, the great merchant from

Affghanistaun, sent copies to Cabūl; and Khodsha Sahib, a merchant from Cashmeer, sent to his friends at Cashmeer; and the governor of Samarcand sent copies to the mullahs of Samarcand and Orateppa. And the Sheikh Islam observed to his Majesty, "A great calamity will befall the city, if Joseph Wolff is killed at Bokhara, and not sent back to his country with distinction." His Majesty the king replied, "I have given myself a terrible wound by having killed Stoddart and Conolly."

May 5th. I received permission to depart, on the 9th of this month, from the king. At this period I laboured under the most pleasing delusion as to the real character of the Nayeb, and in the innocency of my heart wrote to England to that effect. I continued to labour under this delusion for some time. The 9th arrived, but with it no permission to depart. The king, however, and the Nayeb continued to treat me kindly. I soon, notwithstanding, found that I was surrounded by a mass of treachery nearly unparalleled. The first glimpses broke in on me from a discovery that I made as to Yar Muhammed Khan, of Heraut. This villain promised to recommend me to the Ameer of Bokhara, and he kept his word. He did so—for decapitation. The Ameer, however, did not attend to him, being prepossessed against him, fortunately for me, otherwise I might not now live to tell the tale.

Wednesday, the 14th, was again fixed for my departure with Ak Muhammed Beyk, a great Tūrkomaun chief, who was to accompany me with presents from the Ameer for our Queen, and a letter. Apparently great outward kindness was shown to me, for when I wanted to be bled, the king sent word that I ought not to do so previous to a journey. I called on the king in my Bokhara dress, and his Majesty laughed heartily at my appearance. He is wholly uneducated, but not without talent. I remained in the house of Abdul Samut Khan. People began at last to assume sufficient courage to call on me. They all expressed their astonishment that I

should be better treated than the Russian ambassador, and they began now to bow to me in the street. One day I fell from my horse in the street, but was not hurt, which they ascribed to my carrying the Bible always about with me. Though I did not feel the effects then, this fall afterward produced a rupture, which greatly inconvenienced me, since I had to ride twelve hundred miles on horseback without a bandage.

On inquiry, I found in all directions that Colonel Stoddart's servants did him immense injury. All the accusations against my poor friend Conolly were of the idlest description. Colonel Stoddart was certainly a most rash and inconsiderate man. The story of drawing his sword on the Makhram that was to present him to the king, was in everybody's mouth as a gross violation of the etiquette of the court.

I conversed one day with several people of Heraut. They spoke highly of English officers, and related the following story of Colonel Stoddart: "He was visited on one occasion by Yar Muhammed Khan, who was, as the Heraut people expressed themselves, the greatest Haram-Zadeh in existence. Colonel Stoddart spoke to him about the affairs of Kamran Shah, and after a few remarks by him on the villany of Yar Muhammed Khan, the discussion became so warm, that Colonel Stoddart rose and said, 'With you I shall soon have done,' and kicked him down stairs." This was diplomacy with a vengeance.

Every day of my residence here brought with it some question to be solved for the king's satisfaction. On even the second day of my arrival, the king sent one of his Makhrams to ask two questions. 1st. Whether I had the power to raise the dead? 2nd. Did I know when the day of resurrection would take place? My answers were written down.

One day the king remarked to the Nayeb, that I was the most singular being he had ever seen. I was not like any other European. I was not like an Englishman, or a Jew, or a Russian, in my outward appearance and conduct.

I pass here by the name of the *Khoob Ademee*, 'the good man,' among the people. In the very market-place they say, "The Englishman is come, and he asked Hasrat (his Majesty), Why have you killed my countrymen? After him more of his people will come with force and power, and our Nayeb is occupied with the Englishman for some great design and purpose."

About this time, May 14th, 1844, the king learnt the detention of his own ambassador at Meshed on my account, and therefore determined to detain me. I continued, however, to ride about without strict surveillance on to the 22nd. The king wrote letters to the Sultan and Shah. Ambassadors are sharper looked after than myself, for they are not permitted to get clear of a very strict surveillance. His Majesty looked upon Dil Assa Khan as a contemptible dog, he told me, for not having fulfilled his duty to the Assaff-ood-Dowla. He gave me three epithets. 1st. *Joseph Wolff the Original.* 2nd. *Joseph Wolff the Star with the Tail.* 3rd. *Joseph Wolff the Timid One.*

The Jews of Bokhara have taken courage, and called on me. The name of Sir Moses Montefiore, and the rumour of his exertions for the benefit of the Jewish nation, have reached their ears, and those of their brethren in Samarcand, Balkh, Khokand, and Heraut. And Sir Moses Montefiore will be surprised to learn that his exertions in behalf of the Jews have drawn the attention of the Jews in those distant regions to the doctrines of Christianity; for many Jews, when at Bokhara, observed to me that the religion of the Gentiles in England must absolutely be better than that of Muhammed, as the proceedings of Sir Moses Montefiore in behalf of the Jews are not only tolerated, but also countenanced, supported, recommended, and eulogized. And about Rothschild they say, that in a country where one can so openly make a display of one's property, the religion of that nation must be better.

The reason why his Majesty called me Joseph Wolff *the*

Timid One, I discovered to be from the cause that Ameer Aslan told him that I was ill from the apprehension of losing my head. He supposed this to be the case, from a sudden illness with which I was seized in the market-place. His Makhram continued to come down daily with questions such as these:—

The mode of travelling in Persia, Turkey, and England? To this I replied, giving an ordinary explanation; but his Majesty could not understand why we had no camels in England, and I had to write an immense time before he comprehended our rail-road travelling.

Whether the Queen has a husband? I answered this in the affirmative, but told him that the government was in the hands of the Queen. He then exclaimed, "What kind of husband is he, that is under the government of his wife?"

Why a woman is Queen, and not the husband? I pointed out that the succession ran in the eldest branch, male or female, and illustrated the position by James of Scotland.

The Ameer wished another day to have the names of the four grand Viziers, and twelve little Viziers of England, and the forty-two Elders. I gave to his Majesty a list of the names of the present Ministry, when the Makhram returned in a fury, and said that his Majesty had found me out to be a *liar*; for the four grand Viziers, according to Colonel Stoddart's account, were Laard Maleburne, Laard Jaan Rawsall, Laard Malegraave, Seere Jaane Habehaase. I was brought in to the king, and then had to give a complete idea of the Constitution of England. Though his Majesty could not understand it fully, I yet convinced him that my list might be true also, especially as I was able to tell him the names of the Whig administration.

At the same time his Majesty asked me whether *witches* were to be found in England? To which I replied, that witchcraft was prohibited to the Christians, and, according to the old law of England, was punished with death; that this arose

from the fact that witchcraft required, to complete its rites, shedding of blood, and other unlawful acts; and consequently for *that*, independent of any other question of its effects, was punished with death, under Jewish and Christian ordinances. That witchcraft does not now exist, and that scarcely any one in England believes in the existence of it at all. I was the more anxious to say this, lest from the circumstance of their entertaining the notion of my being a wizard, I might suffer those very serious consequences that my predecessors in the black art had from time to time experienced. It will further be seen, in the progress of this Narrative, that it was reported that Abdul Samut Khan and I practised witchcraft at our meetings; when, in truth, that mighty alchymist was only bent on transmuting me into as much solid gold as possible by the dint of his philosopher's stone,—cruelty, incarceration, and threats of death.

On another occasion I was asked, How many ambassadors her Majesty had, and how they were treated? I gave a list of ambassadors, and stated that they were not guarded and watched, as was the practice at Bokhara, but enjoyed full liberty and high distinctions and privileges.

The king then asked, Whether they would kill his ambassador at London? I replied, if any Englishman did so, he would immediately be put to death, by the laws of the land; and to illustrate it, I told him of the good reception of Dost Muhammed Khan in India.

Why do the English people like old coins? was then demanded. I explained that their value in the eyes of Englishmen arose from the circumstance, that coins were looked upon as the very backbone on which the frame of history is supported. That without them we could not ascertain the duration of the world, dynasties of kings, and national events. That they were the great guides of the historian in determining his eras, and formed a metallic history of the earth; and that statues and ancient monuments were used as similar auxiliaries.

Who Ghengis Khan was? After the usual particulars of this well-known life, I added that the Jews believed that he was one of their nation.

Who Dareius was? I then detailed the history of this monarch, whom they call Takianus.

How the English govern India? After general details, I pointed out the toleration of the British government in India, allowing all persons to follow their own religion, and making no difference in the exercise of law between Englishman, Muhammedan, and Hindoo; and that if an Englishman were to insult a Muhammedan or Hindoo, relative to religion or any other matter, he would be severely punished.

The names of the richest Jews in England? Rothschild, Goldsmith, Sir M. Montefiore, and Cohen.

Whether the Queen has the power to kill any one she pleases? No, but she can pardon whom she pleases; and persons who have even attempted the life of the Queen have not suffered, but been pardoned. I explained that the Queen was compelled to submit her rights to the trial by jury, as well as the lords or commoners. On which one of the Makhrams observed, "What kind of a Sovereign is this, that cannot take away any life that she pleases?"

How many farsakhs an hour a steam-ship goes? I said three and four farsakhs (about sixteen miles) an hour.

The Bokhara ambassador, alluded to in one of the above questions, was a man of striking appearance. He was a Tatshick, and his brother one of the first merchants in the place.

The instances of villany which I daily detected of Dil Assa Khan were perfectly startling. I found out that he had laid a plot to sell me to the Hazārah. Next to the Dastar Khanjee, I considered him at this time one of the most wicked men I had ever seen. This man, who is placed over the king's kitchen, and at the same time has also the custom-house under him, and occupies in fact the position of king's Vizier, is only twenty years of age, and has been raised to this office for

demerits unmentionable in any journal or narrative. He is one of the most voluptuous and effeminate villains imaginable. When he is older, it is generally hoped by the inhabitants, and confidently expected by them, that the king will decapitate him, and seize on his enormous wealth. He treated Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly with peculiar severity. The less said of this disgrace to manhood the better.

In order to exemplify in the best manner the tyranny of the Ameer of Bokhara, I need only mention the following facts: That every letter sent from Bokhara, and every letter arriving for their merchants and dignitaries, and every private note which the wife writes to her husband, or the husband to the wife, must first be opened and perused by the king of Bokhara; so that actually it is a matter of the utmost difficulty to forward letters to Bokhara. This circumstance may plead an excuse for Colonel Sheil ordering Muhammed Ali Serraf not to forward the letters from Sir Moses Montefiore by an express gholam; for even if the letters arrive, the people are afraid to receive them. The Khaleefa of Mowr alone is able to forward letters to Bokhara with safety; but of this circumstance Colonel Sheil was not aware, and Muhammed Ali Serraf had no inclination to make use of the Khaleefa.

Another act of tyranny committed by the Ameer is, that boys are employed as news-writers, whose duty it is to report to him every word which other boys talk in the street,—even brother to brother at home; and servants in families are also obliged to write down for the king any conversation they hear between husband and wife, even in bed; and the people set over me were ordered to report to him what I might happen to speak in a dream. Such written reports are called Areeza, *i. e.* petitions to the king. But whilst his Majesty has established such a complete system of espionage, a similar one is established over him, though in secret, by several of the great officers of the state. Abdul Samut Khan boasted to me, and I

heard the truth of his statement confirmed by others, that he (Abdul Samut Khan) knew every sentence and every half sentence the Ameer uttered, and all that is spoken to him. Abdul Samut Khan was exactly informed of every word that I uttered on a certain Friday that I went to the Selaam (levee) of the king; viz. that I had requested his Majesty to give me the bones of Stoddart and Conolly, and that his Majesty's answer was, "I shall send your bones." The Ameer is evidently afraid of Abdul Samut Khan, for as often as Abdul Samut Khan exercises his artillery by ordering cannons to be fired, the Ameer sends one of his Makhrams to the Nayeb, who lives outside the town, to inquire for what purpose the cannons are fired; and I witnessed that in a single day three or four times Makhrams came to Abdul Samut Khan with the same question.

It may be asked, "Does the Ameer fear England?" I say exceedingly: so much so, that when I arrived there for three days he was sitting with his head leaning upon his hands, in deep thought; and he observed to the Grand Kazi, "How extraordinary! I have two hundred thousand Persian slaves here,—nobody cares for them; and on account of two Englishmen a person comes from England, and single-handed demands their release."

There are two Armenians from Astrachan at Bokhara; the name of the one is Barhur-Dar, and the other Hoannes, who were forbidden by the Ameer to approach me. They are suspected by the inhabitants to be Akbar-Nuwees (report writers), some say to the English government, and others to the Russian. I however found a real friend to the British government in a Khoja Sahib, a merchant from Cashmeer, who chiefly opened my eyes about the infamous Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, and who told me, "That rascal has never told you how ill he treated Conolly, poor Conolly, and gave him nothing to eat after he had stopped with him for awhile, for Conolly was too shrewd to be cheated by him."

With respect to this person (Abdul Samut Khan), I omitted to mention that after the long conversation I had with him on the subject of Stoddart and Conolly, given above, that he made me a present of a Bokhara robe, and also one to Dil Assa Khan. On our return to my lodgings in the Toorah Khane from that interview, the good old Yoos-Bashi, when he saw me, wept for joy, as when one sees another returning from a dangerous journey. Also the Tūrkomauns, Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, who were formerly distant in their demeanour, again took courage to salute me. After three days I called again on the Nayeb. He informed me that he had already paid thirty tillahs for five camels to Mortesa preparatory to my departure, and twenty tillahs I should have to pay him at Meshed. I said, "Why so? I only want two camels, which amounts to six tillahs, (about three pounds); but he replied, that he should have to give me so many effects of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, which he had recovered at great personal cost from others, that I should not know what to do with them. He showed to me three mantles (khelats) from Conolly, when a curious thing happened. A soldier (sirbās) exclaimed, on passing, as he caught a sight of the khelat, "I know that: we took it from the palace of Muhammed Ali, king of Khokand." The Nayeb exclaimed, "Pedret Sukhte! 'May thy father be burned;' but do you know they belonged to Conolly Saib?" and I observed him giving the man a look of peculiar expression. The soldier slowly walked off, but when he saw me again, he told me, "The Nayeb lies. We took it from the palace of the king of Khokand. You will never come out of this place again. The Nayeb, Pedre Sukhte Nayeb, will do with you as he did with Stoddart and Conolly. He killed them, and he will kill you." Whilst we were talking, I heard the shrieks and howlings of people. I asked, "What is that?" He said, "This is the prison kept by the Nayeb for those whom he suspects, and whom he suffers to starve from hunger." The Nayeb came, and our conversation was interrupted.

I asked the Nayeb, "Will the *rukhsat* (permission to depart) be given to day?" He said, "Yes; and for this reason I beg you now to give me a receipt for five thousand tillahs. Three thousand which I will give you now; one thousand for the Russian slaves, whom I will deliver to you to-morrow; and one thousand tillahs which you have to pay for Conolly's and Stoddart's effects, for the bribes which I have given to the people, and the hire of the caravan Bashi." I exclaimed, "Great God! can you show me the account?" He showed me an account. I said, "Give me this account." *Nayeb.* "Not now, but give me your receipt; you have to do with the Nayeb, who will not deceive you." I gave him the receipt for five thousand tillahs.

In the evening, instead of the permission to depart, Makhram Cassem came with the following message from the king: "His Majesty had already ordered the letters to be written to the Queen of England, and the presents which were intended for her Majesty the Queen of England were already prepared; but his Majesty had just been informed, that the Vizier Mukhtar (ambassador) of England at Teheraun had offered one thousand tillahs as a daily compensation, as long as the Bokhara ambassador was detained within the confines of Persia. His Majesty the Ameer therefore was determined to keep Joseph Wolff at Bokhara as long as his ambassador was detained in Persia."

This news was like a thunder-bolt to me. On the receipt of this intelligence, I wrote the following letter to Colonel Sheil:

To Colonel Sheil, at Teheraun, thence to be sent to his Excellency Sir S. Canning, Constantinople, and thence to the Earl of Aberdeen, who will kindly communicate the contents of it to Captain Grover.

My dear Colonel Sheil, &c. **Bokhara, May 15, 1844.**

Ak Muhammed Beg, a powerful chief of Türkomauns, was already appointed as ambassador to the Queen of England from the King of Bokhara, of which I sent to all of you a copy, and I

was to set out on the 12th instant for Meshed, after I had made my *dua* to his Majesty, when he received a message from Meshed, that the Assaff-ood-Dowla detained his ambassador there on my account. He is therefore determined to keep me until his ambassador comes back. I beg you therefore to send an order from Muhammed Shah to the Assaff-ood-Dowla, that he should immediately permit the Eljee of Bokhara to depart from Meshed for Bokhara. Pray do so, for he (the king) is a determined fellow, and would keep me ten years if the ambassador is not sent. I write this letter in the house of our friend Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, who has taken great trouble about me.

I have recovered a journal. [The Nayeb did not give me this journal, as he promised. It contained, among other matters, a description of fortresses from Khokand to Bokhara. The official seal of Stoddart was also retained by him.] I also have got the official seal of Stoddart. The king does not attempt to justify his having murdered Todderweis and Naselli. [I found Todderweis alive at Teheraun, on my return from Bokhara. I asked him how the report originated that the Nayeb had killed him at Bokhara. He said that the Nayeb had invited him to see him, for he knew him in India; but as he, Todderweis, was informed of his character, he did not go, being fearful of being enslaved; but another person, a German, went, who was put to death by the king without seeing the Nayeb, who supposed that it was Todderweis.] Poor Conolly had done nothing but what every traveller does: he kept a journal, which made him suspected to be a spy.

You must pardon my confused style, for I am in a great stew, not knowing how long I shall be kept. I am now allowed to ride about in the town without a Makhram (private chamberlain) of the king, and which even the Russian ambassador was not allowed when here. There is now no probability of his putting me to death. He himself said to the Nayeb, "Do not tell Joseph Wolff that Yar Muhammed Khan has written to me that I should put him to death, for it will frighten him." Pray send a copy of this letter to India, and tell them that they should assist me from thence and from England with money, for I must give some presents to those Makhrams who behaved exceedingly kind to me; and Dil Assa Khan, the Eljee of the Assaff, almost stripped me on the road; and after I had left Merve, I discovered that Rajab had stolen several things: he was paid by Nur Khyr Ullah in behalf

of Colonel Stoddart, so you need not pay him over again. What horrid rascals those natives are! from the prince down to the lowest subject. The Nayeb has behaved nobly towards me. A report is spread about at Bokhara, that the Nayeb and myself sit together the whole day shut up in a room, and practise witchcraft. Pray get the ambassador soon sent off, and be kind enough to send a copy of this letter to Lady Georgiana also.

Yours, &c.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

The Nayeb informed me, that last Sunday the king told him these words: "We will spread about a report that we march against Khokand; but the real object of the expedition will be to take Shahr Sabz by surprise." It would be a great pity if he should succeed. I must abstain from writing to you any thing now about the character of this court, for obvious reasons; and besides this, you must know that I am at present in a continual fever, and shall be so until I shall be at Meshed. I have taken six hundred tillahs from the Nayeb for expenses, (the Nayeb had made me his debtor to this amount, in presents to Makhrams, which I afterwards discovered he never gave to them,) for the recovery of Conolly's effects, and for official presents to the Makhrams, Shekhawl, &c. Pray honour my bills, and I shall arrange with you matters. Abbott authorized me to draw, in case of need, one hundred tomauns on him. The inclosed is a copy of a letter of the king of Bokhara, which I am to take with me to England.

I took the Nayeb alone, and begged him to give me back the receipt mentioned above; but he swore by Abdullah Khan, his son, four years of age, to speak on the Sunday following to the Ameer, to procure me permission to depart.

With regard to the Russian prisoners, he sent first of all for an old woman, one hundred and eleven years of age, who spoke Turkish and the Bokhara Persian, and remembered the Empress Catherine; and when I asked her whether she would return to Russia, she smiled, and said, at the same time striking the ground with her staff, "Here at Bokhara I shall be buried. What shall I do in Russia?" I gave her one tillah, for which, in sign of gratitude, she knocked her head six or seven times to the ground and departed, always moving

her head and saying, "I return to Russia? I return to Russia?" He next sent for some other Russians with the same success. Some of them said, "We cannot return, for we are deserters." Others, "We are married here, and have wives and children."

Behadur Hussein Ali, and other officers of the Nayeb, then took me alone, and said, "You will find at last that the Nayeb is a Haram-Zadeh (son of ——), who treated Stoddart and Conolly as he does you, and Boutenieff, the Russian ambassador, whom he detained as long as he could, always pretending to be their friend." Behadur then took me alone, and pulling off his cap and lifting his eyes to heaven, said, in a kind of despair, "Oh, Conolly Saib! oh, Conolly Saib! thou wert deceived by that Haram-Zadeh the Nayeb. He has also deceived me, allured me with promises to Cabūl from Lahore, and from Cabūl to Bokhara; and now he has forced me to marry, and having made a slave of me, will at last kill me, and take the few tomauns I have from me; but, what is worse, he has already made me his accomplice in every evil work he has committed. I am the keeper of those prisoners, who will never see the light of day again, for he has killed many of them, and I shall be killed also. But I must tell you all, for I am an Indian Mussulman, and have eaten the salt of English people. I knew Mr. Vigne at Cabūl; he has drawn my portrait, and has given me many a rupee. I am not an Iranee, (Persian); I am a Hindee, and have eaten the salt of Englishmen. The Nayeb will kill you at last, after he has got money from you. He gave money to Conolly, and after Conolly was dead he got it back again. Pray do not tell him what I tell you; he will kill me—he will kill me. I am not an Iranee; I am a Hindee, and have eaten the salt of Englishmen." This account of Behadur, delivered with every mark of deep sincerity of feeling, was amply confirmed by Mirza Muhammed Noori and the Yavar, *i. e.* Major of the Sirbaas, who at the same time added, "That cursed Nayeb

receives every year thirty thousand tillahs from the king, in order to equip the soldiers, and for the cannon foundry; but he puts the money into his pocket, and suffers the poor soldiers to go barefoot and starve. He is an enemy to his own country, Persia; and though a Guzl-Bash himself, woe to that Guzl-Bash who is sold to him as a slave! He never gives them their liberty, except by paying to him three times as much as an Usbeck would demand. Here is Assad Ullah Beg, who has been demanded three times by the Haje of Persia; and it would only cost the Nayeb a few words to the king to give him liberty to return to Persia, but he has not spoken one single word to the king."

And I know myself that Assad Ullah Beg was only sent back to Persia by the Nayeb after having paid to him ninety tillahs, the whole earnings of the poor fellow for several years; and besides this a shawl worth one hundred tillahs, whilst an Usbeck would not have demanded more than twenty tillahs for the ransom of Assad Ullah Beg. But to proceed with my Narrative. I was just on the point of returning to my lodging in town, when a curious and rather alarming incident occurred.

Hassan Shirazi, formerly servant to Colonel Stoddart, entered the garden, and seeing the Nayeb, he said, "My heart trembles as often as I come here." The Nayeb said, "Go to hell, you father of the Curse! Who tells you to come here?" He replied, "Many have left their heads and bones here, who have entered your house." The Nayeb replied, with a horrid expression, "Go to hell!" The Nayeb then said, "To show you what sort of a fellow that is, when Colonel Stoddart was put to death, this fellow, his servant, being suspected of some designs against the Government, was sent to the Black Well. When there he was asked by one of the Makhrams, by order of the Ameer, 'What conversations did the Nayeb hold with Colonel Stoddart?' Then that fellow, Hassan Shirazi, to implicate me, replied, 'That Stoddart and I had agreed, that if English or Affghaun troops should come to Balkh, to join

them;' and he also stated that Stoddart and I (the Nayeb) had read together two letters which came from Cabūl, and then burned them."

Now it is very remarkable that if Hassan Shirazi was such a bad fellow as the Nayeb tried to make out, and a traitor to Stoddart as well as to himself, that he (the Nayeb) previous to this had recommended Hassan Shirazi as a servant, to accompany me back to Persia. But the fact was this, that the Nayeb maintained a secret intercourse with Hassan Shirazi and the other servants of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, to betray them first, and seize on their effects afterwards; and as there is no friendship among thieves, they naturally suspected each other. When I now think over what sort of company I have *per force* kept in these regions, I am fully convinced, as all at Bokhara were, that the Nayeb intended to include me in the number of his victims. I cannot but look back with horror and dismay on that period. The countenance of that villain, Abdul Samut Khan, fell daily more and more, exhibiting ever fresh features of villany; the mark of Cain grew darker and darker in his vile physiognomy, and so far from imagining evil where no evil was, which has been imputed to me, the quantity of evil he not only meditated but actually committed, exceeds the bounds of ordinary imagination. My readers will perceive that I trusted the villain only too long.

I must proceed. I mounted my horse, and proceeded to the Toorah Khane; but returned the next day to the Nayeb, to urge him for leave to depart. Then the Nayeb informed me that he had put in irons Hassan Shirazi, and incarcerated him on my account; for he had just found out that he was married, and had given to his wife the four tillahs which he, the Nayeb, had given him on my account as wages beforehand, and had told his wife that she should go to a certain village, and that when he had stolen my money he would join her; but the real reason for incarcerating him was, that the Nayeb began to be afraid of him.

CHAPTER XIV.

Disasters of the Sikh Army in Lassa. Csomo de Koros—his Researches—publishes a Dictionary of the Thibet Language. The Surveillance over Dr. Wolff grows more rigid—Barhurdar, an Armenian, ordered not to visit Dr. Wolff by the Ameer. Nasir Khayr Ullah, a Kaffer Seeah-Poosh, mistaken for Colonel Stoddart from the fairness of his Complexion. Conversation between Dr. Wolff and the Nayeb. Letter of Sir Richmond Shakespeare. The Nayeb detains in his possession the Letter of Lord Ellenborough to the Ameer. Nayeb alarmed—advises Dr. Wolff to communicate to the Ameer the fact of the Letter having arrived—Dr. Wolff does so. Hassan Caboolee despatched. Dr. Wolff discovers that, though apparently sent, he did not really go. Affghaun Bear-leader imprisoned as a Spy—he tells Dr. Wolff that the Ameer sent a Lion to Russia as a Present to the Czar, for which his Ambassador was munificently rewarded; but that the Czar refused, after the Execution of the British Officers, to hold any further intercourse with the Ameer. The Ameer goes to war with Khokand and Oratepa—orders in his absence the Guards over Dr. Wolff to be doubled, and tells him that his Departure will depend on the Success of his Expedition. Dr. Wolff writes to Lady Georgiana and his Son. Conversations with Dil Assa Khan, Abdullah, and others. Dr. Wolff bribes the Guards. Previous War with Khokand—King made Prisoner and put to death by the Ameer of Bokhara—his Wife and Child barbarously murdered—Abdul Samut Khan the chief Agent in the Slaughter. At the news of the Death of Stoddart and Conolly the Inhabitants of Khokand renew the War—The Ameer retreats before them and the Khivites. Dr. Wolff contrives to acquaint the British Envoy at Teheraun of the movements of the Ameer, and warns the Town of Shahr Sabz of the King's Intention to attack them. Ameer says that nothing prospers with him since the Death of the English Officers. The King of Khokand offers Dr. Wolff an Asylum in his Dominions.

PREVIOUS to my visit to the Nayeb mentioned in the preceding chapter, Muhammedans from Cashmeer called on me, and gave me some information respecting the great disasters which the Sikhs had experienced on their march to Lassa, the cap-

ture of Thibet, and the residence of the Grand Lama. Several thousand of the Sikh army had been frozen to death, and many soldiers had been found frozen in the very attitude of defence; so that actually the Chinese, when approaching them, doubted whether they were alive or dead, and dared not disturb them. They also told me that the people of Thibet have a prophecy, that the whole country will fall under the English sway. Some of these Cashmeerians were acquainted with the Hungarian traveller, Csomo de Koros, who spent much time in one of the convents of the Lamas near Ladack, where he made researches into the origin of the Hungarian language and of the Huns. This extraordinary man set out in 1826, if I do not mistake, for this purpose, from Paris, and went *viâ* Constantinople to Persia, in the disguise of a derveesh. On his arrival at Teheraun, he received the kind hospitality of Sir Henry Willock. Thence he went to Bokhara, Lahore, Ladack, and Calcutta. He wrote the only Dictionary of the Thibet language, I believe, extant, and then died. The Cashmeerians spoke to me also of Mr. Vigne and Baron Hügel.

The surveillance over me kept getting more and more severe. An Armenian merchant, Barhurdar by name, from Astrachan, sent me word by Kouli, a servant of Dil Assa Khan, one of the servants that was kind to me, that I should excuse his absence, for the Ameer had sent him a strict order not to approach me.

The day following my last visit to the Nayeb, Nasir Khayr Ullah entered the garden. Nasir Khayr Ullah was by birth a Kaffer Seeah-Poosh, who are called by many Muhammedans, from the fairness of their complexion, Frankee; and this is the reason he was mistaken by some for Stoddart himself, whose friend he pretended to be, or perhaps was. He intended, he said, to go to Teheraun, to get some property there. This accounts for the information that Layard obtained at Constantinople, of Stoddart being alive, and passing by the

name of Nasir Khan, for Nasir KhayrUllah has the name of Nasir Khan. He was formerly a slave, but acquired considerable property at Bokhara. He showed to me forged letters from certain people who pretended to have carried the bodies of Stoddart and Conolly to India, for which service he (Nasir Khan) said that he gave to them one hundred and fifty tillahs.

The following conversation took place on that day between me and the Nayeb.

W. Nayeb, to-day a Jew called on me, and showed to me a note evidently written by Shakespeare when at Jelaal-Abad; the contents of the note, as far as I can recollect, are as follow:

Hussein Cabulee is the bearer of a letter written by the Right Honourable the Governor-general of India to his Highness the Ameer of Bokhara, for which the bearer has received one hundred rupees; and after having brought an answer from his Highness, he will, on delivery to any British authority, receive five hundred rupees more.

(Signed) SHAKESPEARE,

Camp, Jelaal-Abad. *Military Secretary.*

I knew that such a letter had arrived at Bokhara, and even your brother, Hajee Ibrahim, told me himself so.

Nayeb (pale and evidently discomposed). I am astonished that I have not heard of this letter before. Nasir Khan has just told me that a Cabūl man was in possession of such a letter, but he says that he had left the letter at Balkh.

As Nasir Khan was already gone, he said that he must send to him to hear more about it; for when he (Abdul Samut Khan) had told the king that Joseph Wolff asserted that the Governor-general had written to his Majesty, his Majesty replied, "Where is that letter?" In the evening, to my utter surprise, the Nayeb produced the same note of Shakespeare which I saw in the hand of the Jew.

I heard then by Mirza Muhammed Noori, by the chief servant of the Kazi Kelaun, by Mullah Makhsoom, a Tatshick, and by Moolam Beyk, that the Nayeb had been all the time

in possession of the letter of Lord Ellenborough, and the other of Captain Shakespeare, and that it was by a contrivance of the Nayeb with Hassan Caboolee that the note of Shakespeare was shown to me by the Jew Mullah Mesheakh. The letter of Sir Richmond Shakespeare, together with the letter of Lord Ellenborough, is, as will be seen, in the hands of Colonel Sheil; and as, according to the testimony of the above respectable people, the letter with Captain Shakespeare's note arrived before the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, it is evident that the official date of 1259 Hejira, corresponding with July 1843,—which was given to me by order of the king and Abdul Samut Khan at the beginning,—is the correct date, and not erroneous, as I supposed when I arrived at Teheraun from Bokhara. Abdul Samut Khan must have known that to be a mistake; for, though the date of Shakespeare's note is no longer in my memory, I well remember that, when calculating over the date of the note of Shakespeare and its arrival at Bokhara, it could only have been one year before my arrival there. It could only have been in 1259, as the Ameer and Nayeb first told me.

On the Sunday following these events, the Nayeb went to the king; and after two hours he came back to the garden, and said, "Now you have leave to depart with all speed. The king asked me what kind of person the ambassador ought to be; I told him that he ought to be an Usbeck,—a stout fellow, with thick head and little beard."

W. When will all be ready?

N. After four or five days.

W. This is too long.

N. Oh, you must have patience, for it is an act of the king. Every thing is ready.

Whilst we were sitting together in the evening, Mirza Muhammed Noori, his secretary, and others of his officers with him, he said, "Now you could show to the king that the English people speak the truth. Write to him that such a

letter actually exists here, sent from the Governor-general, and that his Majesty should cause search to be made for it."

W. I shall do no such thing, for this would only be the cause of another delay; and I do not care what opinion he entertains of me, if he only lets me go.

The officers sitting by, and Mirza Muhammed Noori, agreed with me, *that this would cause a delay;* but the Nayeb said, "*By the head of Abdullah Khan*, my son, it will not! Write, I tell you, write!"

I wrote to the king. His Majesty sent immediately to find the man, who came instantly to the garden, escorted by the Makhram, and also Nasir Khan with him.

Hassan Caboolee, (in apparent fright). "Nayeb, Nasir Khan frightened me, and therefore I did not deliver the letter: now they will kill me. Hasrat (his Majesty) will now kill me." The Nayeb said to him, "Be not afraid; say where is the letter," and gave him a significant hint. He said, "At Balkh." He was despatched immediately to Balkh *at my cost.* Six days after, I saw him at Bokhara, which I told the Nayeb; he replied that somebody else went there on his account.

At this period I was brought by the three guards to the garden of the Dastar Khanjee, where I met with an Affghaun who came here with a menagerie of wild animals two years ago; and as the king suspected him to be a spy of the king of Lahore, he detained him prisoner at Bokhara. He however displayed a Muhammedan indifference about his fate. He spoke to me with high regard of the English nation. He had taught his bear to dance, of which he grave a proof to me.

Of this person also I learnt that the Ameer sent, previous to the decapitation of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, a lion as a present to the Emperor of Russia, for which his ambassador was munificently rewarded by the Emperor. After the execution of both officers, the Ameer sent again an ambassador to Russia, with presents; but on his arrival at

Orenbourg, he was informed by the governor of Orenbourg that the Autocrat would have no more intercourse with the king of Bokhara, nor was his Majesty the Emperor inclined to accept any letters from the Ameer. The poor man who was sent as ambassador returned to Bokhara, and has been ever since in disgrace.

In the month of June, when the Ameer went with his army to Samarcand and Khokand, for the purpose of reconquering Oratepa, which had rebelled against him, also Khokand, my prospects of ever being set at liberty were but weak; for, previous to his departure, he gave strict orders to watch me, and at the same time doubled the guards, and gave me to understand that my receiving permission to depart depended on the success of his expedition. I therefore wrote the following letter in my Bible to Lady Georgiana and my son Henry, which I forwarded to Colonel Sheil; but Colonel Sheil, not opening the Bible, did not know what to do with it, and kept the Bible with him until my return to Teheraun. Here is the letter:—

To the Right Honourable Lady Georgiana M. Wolff, and Henry Drummond Charles Wolff.

My dearest Wife and Son, Bokhara, June, 1844.

I am still detained at Bokhara, and the king has now marched against Khokand. Whatever may happen to me, dearest wife and son, remember that you yourselves have nothing to reproach yourselves, for it was my own choice to make the journey, in order to liberate the prisoners, and remember that our Lord Jesus Christ is now with me. I am not unkindly treated, and am not without hopes of being allowed at last to return with the Persian ambassador, though one cannot depend upon the promise of an unprincipled tyrant, and Yar Muhammed Khan of Heraut has advised the Ameer by three ambassadors to put me to death. God has given me strength to await his will with patience and resignation. Pray amuse yourself, and go to Wiesbaden in summer. I am well treated, but am not allowed to stir out without three guards, and am strictly watched. Tell my dear Henry that he should pardon me if ever I have hurt his feelings, and so I beg

you to pardon me. I have never ceased to love you tenderly, both of you, and thank God that we are believers in Christ Jesus.

Your affectionate husband and father,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

Dil Assa Khan entered my room with eight Mervee, and he began thus, saying, "What an Englishman are you! how stingy! Todd Saheb, at Heraut, gave to the Hazārah, near Heraut, two thousand five hundred tillahs (ducats) for one horse. Pottinger Saheb gave every year thirty thousand tillahs to Yar Muhammed Khan; and do you think that I shall be satisfied with two hundred tillahs? Two hundred tillahs are good for nothing. It is for that reason that I have played the traitor, which I never would have done, if you had given me three thousand tillahs."

Then his people began: "And what have you done for us? You ought to have given two hundred tillahs to every one of us; and thus you would have exalted the Queen of England, and made her name immortal. Instead of this, you gave us only a few tengas (pence) to pay for our bath. Do you think that the Ameer will let you go from here without our interceding for you? Far from it. Abdul Samut Khan himself tells us that you ought to make us comfortable."

Abdullah, my servant, entered then my room and said, "The whole town of Bokhara speak with certainty that the Ameer will put you to death, for it is the wish of Abdul Samut Khan and all the Serkerdeha (grandees); and the king of Persia, being a Sheah, has no influence at Bokhara; but if you satisfy our demands, we will save your life." I turned them all out of the room.

Then a tailor of Abdul Samut Khan entered, saying, "Abdul Samut Khan has given to-day one hundred tillahs to the Shekbawl: he does every thing for you, but you must spend your money; if not, he will fail in his trouble." I turned him out of my room.

Then Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, who had behaved exceedingly well for awhile, so that I gave them a testimonial

for their good conduct, said, "Mullah Youssuff Wolff, tillahs (ducats) are sweet; we dream of tillahs day and night, and we dreamt last night that you, on your return to England, sat near your monarch, and all the grandees of your country kissed the hem of your garment. The most beautiful women crowded around you, and desired to be your wives, and you took the daughter of the Queen as your lawful wife. * * * * You will live in the finest palace, except the Queen's, and fanned by dancing girls; and if you shall say to her, 'Oh, my Queen, cut off the head of this or that person,' she will immediately follow your advice. Both of us, Kaher Kouli and I Ameer Sarog, dreamt this at one and the same time, and therefore it will become true."

Then the guards entered, and told me that they would admit any one, in case that I gave them money. This I was forced to do. Ameer Sarog and the Tūrkomauns observed to me on this occasion, that rich people are *possessors of heads and understanding*. This is the Tūrkomaun idiom, and answers to our *capitalist*, and for the same reason in both tongues. *Capital* is derived from *caput*, *i. e.* head, *the understanding*, and by *understanding* we acquire the possession of money, and by money we obtain understanding; and thus money is a *capital* thing. It allures us with the words of the serpent, "He that eateth of this tree, his eyes shall be opened, and he shall be like gods, (the artful old polytheist,) knowing good and evil." He that eats of that fruit will be considered happy, and a man of *intellect*. His eyes shall be opened, so that he shall obtain new views of things,—of religion, truth, humility, and abstinence. He shall be like the gods, for he shall be numbered among the powerful and mighty. Incense is offered unto him, hopes are entertained of him, and he is worshipped. He is himself no longer in need of much of the assistance of God, he thinks, as other men are: he knows good and evil. One thing with him, however, is the thing, and this he possesses: he is a *capitalist*, or in Tūrkomaun idiom a *Head-*

holder. If one speaks of a physician, his art is praised, his talent, his industry; but, as the climax of all men say, "He will make his fortune, become a capitalist!" If the discourse turn on a lawyer, the same measure is applied, and a Sir William Follett dies a *capitalist*. "Every thing is obedient to money," says many an ancient writer, and owns its *headship*. This, however, will not always be the *measure of might*.

> "Needs must the serpent soon his *capital* bruise
> Expect with mortal pain."—*Milton*.

The war with Khokand commenced about this period, and the Ameer, leaving Abdul Samut Khan to follow him, proceeded thither. This was the second war with the people of that unfortunate country in which the present Ameer had engaged. I shall here give the details of the first.

Muhammed Ali Khan reigned at that time at Khokand, a very mild monarch, and fond of Europeans. He treated Conolly with great distinction, and always advised him not to go to Bokhara. But Muhammed Ali Khan was addicted to the vice of drinking, and to women, which gave time to Nasir Ullah Behadur, the Ameer of Bokhara, to fit out an army against him; and he marched with several thousand irregular troops, and four hundred regulars and six pieces of artillery, commanded by Abdul Samut Khan, towards Khokand in the year 1842, after Conolly had left the town. He took Khokand by surprise. Muhammed Ali Khan intended to escape, but was made prisoner, with his wife. The cruel Nasir Ullah Behadur, at the advice of Abdul Samut Khan, put not only Muhammed Ali Khan to death, but also his wife, pregnant with child. The child was taken out of her and murdered. The slaughter continued a whole day. Abdul Samut Khan told me, smiling, "I never give quarter to any prisoner; I always kill every one." As soon as the inhabitants of Khokand received the news that both Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had been put to death, they made themselves again independent, and elected the nephew

of Muhammed Ali Khan, Sheer Ali Khan by name, as their king; and made an alliance with the king of Khiva against the king of Bokhara. The Ameer of Bokhara marched against Khiva, but was defeated; on his return to Bokhara, he said, "My bowels of compassion did not allow me to shed more blood!"

During my stay at Bokhara he prepared again an expedition against Khokand, and arrived near Oratepa. As soon as he had learnt that Sheer Ali Khan came out to meet him with eleven thousand Ghirgese, he returned. I sent, previous to his march, a Jew from Bokhara, to give notice to Sheer Ali Khan of the design of the Ameer. My readers have already perceived that I had given notice to Colonel Sheil of all his movements; for though the Ameer had declared that in case that he should be beaten he would put me to death, I thought it advisable, for the sake of humanity, to risk my life. He was beaten! I also was informed, my readers have perceived, that he intended to take by surprise Shahr Sabz, a town which never was subdued by the kings of Bokhara; for the surrounding country can be inundated, so that he cannot bring there artillery, and besides this the Shahr Sabz are very good horsemen. I therefore sent there also a Jew, giving notice to the Khan of the design of the Ameer to surprise Shahr Sabz on his way to Khokand. When the Ameer came near Shahr Sabz, he found the whole country, in consequence, inundated, so that his army went towards Samarcand by another direction. The Ameer was heard to say, "Since I have killed these English people, I do not prosper in any thing." I had for about ten days at this period a Makhram, a kind-hearted guard, who allowed Muhammedans to come to me. Among others a Cashmeerian came to me, who said, "Sheer Ali Khan, the king of Khokand, is very anxious that you should come to Khokand, in order that he may, through you, send presents to the Queen of England."

CHAPTER XV.

The Mervee wish to know the Story of Napoleon—Dr. Wolff recounts it in an Oriental fashion. He amuses the tedious hours of Captivity by telling various Anecdotes—His Anecdote of the Arabian Derveesh reaches the ears of the Dastar Khanjee, who reports it to the Ameer. The Kazi Kelaun assures Dr. Wolff that the British Officers were put to death, and that the King deeply repented of the act—The Kazi Kelaun warned the Ameer of the Consequences—All the Jews knew of the Execution the same day, and the Inhabitants of Bokhara, in town and country, speak of it as a matter well known. Dr. Wolff tells an Anecdote of Frederick the Great of Prussia. Dr. Wolff laughs at Ameer Sarog's Vanity, and tells him the Tale of the Derveesh with the White Beard.

Some of the Mervee, who called on me at this time, wished me to make them acquainted with the life of Napoleon. I will give my readers an idea of the manner in which European facts must be told to Eastern people. I began thus—bearing in mind that much of what I said would be considered as referable to my own circumstances: "There is a country in Frankistaun, called the Land of the Francees, which had a great Padisha. He had under his dominion, besides the land of Francees, a little island, called Corsica, in which is a little town with the name of Ajaccio. One of the Serkerdeha residing there was named Bonaparte, who had several sons; the name of the elder was Lucien,—of the younger, Napoleon, who had a great inclination for becoming a Yoos-Bashi, or some other chief among the soldiers; but as in Europe no person can become a chief of soldiers without having first studied the art of soldiery in a school purposely established for that object, Napoleon was sent to a school in the land of Francees, in a small town called Brienne, where he kept but

little company, and made such progress that he was sent to the capital of Francees, Paris. At this time the people of the land of the Francees rose against their King, for, on their side, they had lost the fear of God; and on the part of the King, he was not governed by wise counsellors: and it came to such a pitch, that they at last put to death their King and the Queen. And as that King and Queen were related to other Padishahs of Europe, and especially to the Padishah of Nemsa, *i. e.* Germany, they became involved in war, especially as the greater number of the people of the land of Francees began to deny all religion, and even the existence of a God, and persecuted those who said, 'We will rather die than give up our belief in God and in Jesus.'

"At that time, as I said, the young Napoleon was brought from the school, and distinguished himself at the taking of towns which were not willing to yield to the rebels; so that Napoleon, who was first Yoos-Bashi, was made Sirhenk, 'colonel'; and in the war with the Emperor of Nemsa he distinguished himself by his intrepidity, so that he became Serteeb, *i. e.* 'general'; at which time he became acquainted with a lady, of whom it was foretold by a Kawlee-Berband (gipsy), that she should become a great Queen, but then fall again.

"Napoleon then went to Egypt with an army, took the whole of it, but was driven out by the Englees; after that he had a battle with the combined armies of the King of Nemsa and the Emperor of Russia, in which he beat both of them. He was made a Padishah of the land of the Francees, and thus the prophecy of the Kawlee-Berband was fulfilled. But Napoleon was not satisfied. He wished to become, like Timur Kurican, not only a Jehaun Geer, but also a Jehaun Dar, and he became proud; and he said, as the prophet Isaiah (the comfort of God and peace upon him!) predicted, 'I will sit in the sides of the north;' and he went therefore to Russia, where he was overcome by the snow, and by the army of Russia, and was defeated.

"At last, all the armies of the different kings of Frankistaun, even the Emperor of Nemsa, whom he had compelled to give him his daughter, combined against him, when he was beaten by the great Serteeb of the English, Arthur Wellington, and the Serteeb of the Prussians, Blücher. He was made the prisoner of the English, and died in an island which is situated between the land of the Ghurb and Hindūstaun; and the prophecy of Isaiah was thus fulfilled: 'They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee. Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, and did shake kingdoms? that made the world as a wilderness, and destroyed the cities thereof? that opened not the house of his prisoners?' And the prediction of the Kawlee-Berband was fulfilled, that his Queen should fall again."

My readers will be surprised to perceive, that though a prisoner, and not allowed to stir out of the house unwatched, that I could amuse myself by entertaining those very people who betrayed me and imprisoned me, by telling them different anecdotes; but I did so. They certainly thought me the strangest of captives. They were one evening all seated around me, Dil Assa Khan, Ismael Khan, Kouli, Kaher Kouli, Ameer Sarog, and others of the Mervee. Each of these fellows was well calculated to be a torch-leader in the race of rascality.

I told them the following story. They were all silent. "There was a derveesh in Arabia, renowned in the whole of Arabistaun as a witty man. When that derveesh passed the house of a great Mufti, he wrote in Arabic three times upon the wall the word *Donkey;* and to each of these three donkeys he wrote a meaning. He said, the first donkey is he who has a watch and asks what o'clock it is; and the second donkey is he who has a horse and who walks on foot." Here I paused, and said nothing, when the whole body of my hearers exclaimed, "Who is the third?" and I said, "Every one of you."

This anecdote reached the ears of the Dastar Khanjee, who wrote to the king, then on the expedition to Khokand, the following words: "Youssuff Wolff, the Englishman, your Majesty's slave, is now very cheerful, and gets fat from your Majesty's bounty; and he has taken in the whole party who visited him with the following anecdote."

I had also a visit at this time from the Kazi Kelaun, relative to Stoddart and Conolly. My readers will ask me, and I have been asked in England, What evidences have you that Stoddart and Conolly are dead? I say, first, that there is no doubt that the king would have given any thing to restore them to me. Even the Kazi Kelaun, on this secret visit, told me that he had never so repented of any act as of *that one*; and the Kazi Kelaun himself also said, one afternoon when all around me were asleep, "I warned his Majesty, but he will never hear advice; and I warned him one hour before he perpetrated the act." All the Jews knew it the very day of the execution, and they all told me of it; and thus every inhabitant of Bokhara, and of all the country around, speaks of it as a matter well known.

On another occasion I told a large party the following anecdote, which I was obliged to introduce somewhat oddly to make it intelligible:—

"A great Padishah reigned in Nemsa, whose name was Frederick, and who went by the name of 'the Great.' He waged a seven years' war with many Padishahs, and though his men were few, he routed all his foes. As the language of the Nemsa is different from the language of the Francees, he one day gave the following order: 'I, Frederick, have condescended to order, that if at any time one of the men of the country of the Francees comes and says, I wish to become a soldier in the army of the Padishah Frederick, the Sirhenks and my officers are hereby commanded not to enlist him; as the Francees are never able to learn the language of the Nemsa, and give consequently a great deal of trouble.' However, there

came one day a man from the land of the Francees, who was very tall, and, as the Sirhenks knew that Frederick the Great liked tall soldiers, they said, 'Let us take him, and try to teach him the language of Nemsa, in order that the king may not find out that he is a Francees.' However, all their attempts to teach him the language of Nemsa were vain; so that they taught him by rote the answers to three questions, which the king asked every year of every soldier, and of which he never changed the order. The first question which the king asked of every soldier was, 'How old are you?' to which the soldier replied, giving his age. The second was, 'How long have you been in the service?' to which the soldier replied according to circumstances. The third question was, 'Are you contented with pay and food?' to which he answered by the word 'Both.' The Sirhenk taught the soldier (the Francees) the following words, as answers to the three questions: 'Twenty years,' 'Three years,' and 'Both.' These he got by heart, and they told him to say at the first question, 'twenty years;' at the second, 'three years;' and at the third, 'both.' The king arrived after a year, and reviewed his soldiers, and put questions to every one of them, according to the usual order. But when he came to the tall man of Francees, he changed the order, putting the first question, 'How many years have you been in my service?' He answered, 'Twenty years.' The second question of the king was, 'How old are you?' to which he replied, 'Three.' Hasrat then demanded, 'Am I a donkey, or you a donkey?' to which he replied, 'Both.'"

At another time Ameer Sarog, the old roguish Tūrkomaun, sitting in the company of others with me, boasted that he had the finest beard in the company, and that it was completely white. I replied, "Ameer Sarog, do you know the dream of a derveesh? A derveesh dreamt one day that he saw standing before him an old man with a fine venerable beard; the derveesh said to him, 'Oh, I know thee who thou art: thou shalt

not deceive me with thy fine white beard. I know thee, that thou art Satan,' and began to pull out his beard. Upon which the derveesh awoke, and had pulled out his own beard." I then said to Ameer Sarog, "Take care that you have not a similar dream, for then you will lose your beard to a certainty." They all burst into a fit of laughter, and said, "Don't boast of your venerable beard in the presence of Youssuff Wolff, for he laughs in your beard."

CHAPTER XVI.

Abdul Samut Khan tells Dr. Wolff that he was the chief Instigator of the Slaughter at Khokand in the first War—his Motives were to create a Feud between the States, which he trusted would end in the Death of the Ameer. Abdul Samut Khan says that the first Expedition against Khokand was by the advice of Russia—People of Khokand have since made an Alliance with Russia—Policy of Russia was to bring this about by urging the Ameer to war on them, when they would require aid. Russians intend to erect a Fortress at Hasrat Sultan. People from Cabûl, Cashmeer, and Sinde call on Dr. Wolff—They praise highly Sir Charles Napier. Letter of Sir Charles Napier. Affghauns from Cabûl ascribe the Disasters of the British Army to the immoral Conduct of the Officers. Determined Conduct of Major Rawlinson—he puts to Death an Affghaun for Murder. Manners and Customs of the Muhammedan Mullahs. Diligence of Muhammedans in copying the *Koran* —Propaganda and British and Foreign Bible Society discharge the same Office by the Christians—The Bible would be nearly extinct in the East but for these Societies. Arrival of Abbas Kouli Khan, the Persian Ambassador—he tells Dr. Wolff that the Shah, Haje, and Assaff-ood-Dowla had strongly recommended him to bring Dr. Wolff with him, or to send him on before him. Nayeb informs Dr. Wolff that Yar Muhammed Khan had sent three Ambassadors to Bokhara, stating that Colonel Sheil had called the Ameer a Robber in the presence of the Russian and Yar Muhammed Khan's Ambassadors, of Dr. Wolff, and the Bokhara Ambassador; therefore Yar Muhammed Khan advised the Ameer to strike off Dr. Wolff's head. Nayeb offers Dr. Wolff his protection. Turkish Officer, Muhammed Khokaane, murdered in the Nayeb's Garden. Another Conversation with the Nayeb. The Nayeb reports Abbas Kouli Khan's Mission untruly—Dr. Wolff tries to escape. The Nayeb violates his promise to protect Dr. Wolff—The King sends for him. Dr. Wolff charges the Nayeb with the Murder of Stoddart and Conolly; the Nayeb owns it. Dr. Wolff again tries to escape through a Water-hole from the Garden of the Nayeb to the house of the Yawer—While there a Woman is introduced to him; he is aware of the Stratagem to compel him by her means to embrace Muhammedanism, and drives her from him. Ordered by the King to appear before him—leaves the Garden of Abdul Samut Khan—presents himself before the

Ameer, who receives him sternly. Ordered to the Toora Khane and close Confinement—calls on Abbas Kouli Khan, who vows to save him. The King sends word to him that he may quit Bokhara in two ways —leaves to his Majesty the choice of either. King sets out for Samarcand.

RELATIVE to the first war on Khokand, I have stated that Abdul Samut Khan was the chief instigator of the fearful slaughter which then took place. The reasons that induced Abdul Samut Khan to advise the king of Bokhara to put to death the king of Khokand, and to massacre as many as possible of the inhabitants, were, that there might be an eternal blood feud between the two states. This feud he trusted would end in the death of the Ameer. These circumstances he communicated to me himself.

At the time when this miscreant pretended to be my friend, he told me also another highly important circumstance, which was this: that Boutenieff, the Russian ambassador, strongly advised the king of Bokhara to make war on Khokand before the first expedition; and it is remarkable that since he made war for the first time, the people of Khokand, as Abdul Samut Khan told me, have entered into an alliance with Russia; and it is a subject much canvassed, that the Russians intend to erect a fortress at or near the city called Hasrat Sultan, otherwise called Tūrkistaun.

On another day, during the expedition of the king to Khokand, people from Cabūl, Cashmeer, and Sinde called on me; those of Sinde expressed their highest admiration, not only of the valour and heroism of Sir Charles Napier, but also of his justice and equity. They said his name frightens the Polooj more than the mentioning of the approach of the army; and I say it again, that I am sure that Sir Charles Napier would be the fittest man to be sent to Bokhara.

The following letter was written to me while I was at Bokhara by this truly great man, Sir Charles Napier, governor of Sinde, but it did not reach me until my return thence to Teheraun:

My dear Wolff, Sinde, 5th September, 1844.

I have received your letter and that to your wife, which I have sent to her. I am sure that the King of Bokhara will send you to the Queen of England, to satisfy her that his Majesty had just reason to slay Conolly and Stoddart. I am glad to hear that his Majesty treats you well. But he should send you to England; this would increase his renown over all the earth. I have a large army here, and if I was ordered by the Queen, I would go to Cabūl and take it for England. Give all my best compliments to the King of Bokhara, whose fame is over all the world.

Your Friend,

C. J. NAPIER.

Governor of Sinde.

I can scarce say whether the kindness or consummate prudence of this letter most excited my respect to this distinguished hero. The letter had appended to it the Persian translation, and I could have much wished it had reached me at Bokhara. I am sure that it might have been sent with perfect safety; and even in my imprisonment my heart would have indeed leapt within me with joy, to think on the warrior chief of Sinde's kindness and anxious solicitude for my welfare. These points would also not have been lost on the Ameer. A friend so nigh, a hero whose fame was like a trumpet-blast reaching far and wide, volunteering to come to Cabūl with his legions, and speaking of that achievement as a small affair, and it would have been such with him, would not have been lost on the Usbeck sovereign. The whole tone of the letter is well calculated to attain its end, and the hint about Cabūl might, without much difficulty, be applied by the Ameer to Bokhara.

But now I come to a very delicate point. Affghauns from Cabūl at Bokhara, and also after my departure from Bokhara through the desert to Meshed, ascribed the disaster of the British army, and the indignation of the people of Affghaun against the army, to the conduct of several British officers, whose names I forbear mentioning, and who shocked the feelings of the natives by their introducing into the country the

"vices of Europeans," and by the liberties they took with Affghaun women. We see from this, that the exertions of judicious missionaries, who speak with the Muhammedans about the name of Jesus, may not shock the Orientals, but the immoralities of Europeans assuredly will. The general idea around Cabūl is, that most of the British officers did not believe in a God. At Candahar it is quite different; the names of Major Rawlinson, of Nott, of Lugin, of Todd, are mentioned with respect; and the following account which I heard at Bokhara about Major Rawlinson pleased me very much, and the people who related it spoke with admiration of Major Rawlinson's self-possession at the following occurrence:

An Affghaun in open daylight put to death an Englishman at Candahar; he was brought bound before Major Rawlinson. The major addressed him, "Why have you murdered that Saheb?" The Affghaun answered "I would kill you, if my hands were not bound." The major, "Why so?" The Affghaun replied sternly, "What business have you infidels to enter our home? You infidels have no business in our home. Affghanistaun belongs to us, and it belonged to our ancestors. What business have you in our home?" An Affghaun present turned to Major Rawlinson, and in order to save the criminal, said to him, "Major, he is mad." The murderer heard him, and said, "I am not mad; I am full of understanding: these infidels have no business in our home." Upon which the Affghaun paid the penalty of his crime by death.

I have now to touch on another point, namely, on the manners and customs of the Muhammedan mullahs at Bokhara, and all over the world. The dignity of Sheikh Islam, of Kazi, of Mufti, of Imaum-Jumaa, are the highest which are in the Muhammedan persuasion, and they correspond to those of archbishops and bishops in the Christian church, and the honours conferred on them by the monarch exceed those conferred on the Christian clergy by any king: thus, for instance, the Sultan kisses the hand of the Sheikh Islam at Constanti-

nople, and the Ameer of Bokhara kisses the hand of the Sheikh Islam there; yet those very Sheikh Islams are surrounded by the poor of their nation, and the poorest has free access to the Sheikh Islam. We frequently hear poor mullahs (priests) and others of the poor laity say, "I must go to my Sheikh Islam at Bokhara;" and I heard others say, "I must go to the Imaum-Jumaa at Meshed." And this confidence of the poor towards their clergy is also prevalent among the Armenian, Greek, and Chaldean and Jacobite Christians; "I must go up to the Katokhikos at Ech-Miazin, in order to receive relief:" one hears the same thing said in the Armenian dwellings at Wagarshabat, and in those around Mount Ararat. This confidence of the poor in their prelates also prevails in the Roman Catholic church, and there exists also a strong reliance of the poor on their ecclesiastical authorities among the Lutherans in Germany. I frequently saw, in the year 1811, the Superintendent-general Voigt, at Saxe Weimar, and Dr. Flatt, at Tübingen, surrounded by poor; and I heard those very superintendents frequently listening, not only to the entreaties, but even to the insulting remarks of the poor, who are often very impertinent: I say I heard them frequently listening to them with the greatest attention. It were highly desirable that this prevailed to a greater extent in Christian countries among the dignitaries of their respective establishments.

The Muhammedans are also very diligent in copying their *Koran*, on which account thousands of copies are always extant. This is not the case with copies of the Bible. Neither Jews nor Christians have the means of obtaining many written copies of their sacred documents; and therefore, if the Propaganda had not in former times, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in our own, sent printed copies to the East, the Christians would certainly have been without any of the sacred records, save a few preserved in convents.

At last Abbas Kouli Khan, the Persian ambassador, on

whom I knew my life depended, arrived. I called on him the first day, when he told me that Muhammed Shah, the Haje, and the Assaff-ood-Dowla, had strongly recommended him either to bring me back, or send me on before him; but I was scarcely with him a few minutes, when the Nayeb sent for me to give me important news. I immediately went to him, and he said that there had arrived now three ambassadors from Yar Muhammed Khan, saying that Colonel Sheil and myself, when at Teheraun, had quarrelled with the Bokhara ambassador; that Colonel Sheil had called the Ameer a robber, who had stolen Stoddart and Conolly's property; and that Colonel Sheil had done so in the presence of the Russian and Yar Muhammed Khan's ambassadors; and that he (Yar Muhammed Khan) therefore advised the king to cut off my head; but the Nayeb said, "Now remain with me here in the garden; if the king does not send for you in a few days, I will let you escape, either to Shahr-Sabz or Organtsh. I swear to you by the head of Abdullah Khan—by the *Koran*, that I will do so; and if the king will take you by force, I will beat the drum—drum! drum! drum! and say, 'Halt, Front!' for I know that the king will send you home. The king said that he knew that Yar Muhammed Khan was a *liar*, and uttered a few words which convince me that he will not kill you; *i. e. I must send Joseph Wolff soon away, for I have had wounds enough* since I killed Stoddart and Conolly."

Haje Muhammed Khokaane, a Yoos-Bashi, *i. e.* a 'lieutenant,' in the service of the Sultan of Constantinople, who had not seen his mother for the space of eleven years, came to Bokhara at this time on his way to Khokand. He was arrested by order of the Ameer, and sent to Abdul Samut Khan. The Nayeb, being afraid lest the Ameer should insist on employing him, ordered him to be strangled during the time I was in conversation with him, and then sent word to the Ameer that Haje Muhammed had put an end to his existence by *suicide*. The officers of the Nayeb, however, assured

me, that he had been murdered by Abdul Samut Khan's own order. The Nayeb refused to show me the body, which, for my own satisfaction, I requested to see.

The day following, Makhram Kasem came to have some private conversation with the Nayeb: I retired a few minutes. Afterward the Nayeb called out, "Youssuff Wolff, come here." I came: he told me, "Makhram Kasem has just brought me a piece of news; but fear not, for the king knows that the intent of it is to involve him in a war with England."

W. What news?

Nayeb. "Abbas Kouli Khan has arrived here with five requests from Muhammed Shah. The first request of the king of Persia is, that he (the Ameer) should put you to death. The Haje Mirza Agasee wrote the same. Those Kajar are fathers of the curse; but fear not, I shall see the king next Sunday." I shut myself up in one of his rooms, and prayed; and soon after, when the Nayeb went to his harem, Behadur, above mentioned, came to me and said, "I am not an Iranee, (Persian); I am a Hindee. I have eaten the salt of Englishmen. If you like, I will let you escape, and bring you to Khoollom, and thence go with you to India; but don't tell the Nayeb of it." We agreed that we should leave that very evening; but in the evening I found a Karawl (guard) around my bed. I also observed that the Nayeb had sent a private message to the king.

The morning following, a Makhram, whom I hitherto had not seen, came in great agitation, and said, "You must go to town, you are here tired; the king orders you." As the Nayeb was up-stairs, I called out, "Nayeb!" The rascal came down. The hue of his complexion was quite black; I almost started at the sight. I asked him whether he knew the king's order? He said, "Yes, and you must obey." This absolute contradiction of his express promise to protect me, even from the Ameer himself, incensed me beyond bounds, and I said, "I now see that the people are right, who say that you are the

cause that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly have been killed; you are *a liar*, *a traitor*, and *a rascal!* you intend to kill me too." To this he replied, "Yes, I have killed them. Stoddart quarrelled with me and my brother, who is a Haje, in my garden, about tillahs." I then said, "Liar! why did you always tell me that Stoddart and Conolly have always been your friends?" He replied, "I know how to treat you Franks as you ought to be treated." The Makhram again said that I must go with him. I said, "No;" and saying this, I ran out of the garden over a low part of the wall, when Behadur followed me, and said, "Now I will let you escape."

He brought me, first of all, to the garden belonging to the Nayeb's son, Abdullah, which garden is not yet quite finished, where, on a former occasion, the Nayeb told me that he intended to construct a fortress to defend himself in case of need against the Ameer; when, quite against all expectation, Ameer Abool Kasem was brought to me by the Nayeb's order. He informed me that he was the intended ambassador for England. [*Note.* I have forgotten to mention above, that the Nayeb advised me, when an ambassador was first proposed, and the proposal accepted, that I should administer poison to him on the road, which of course I rejected with horror.] I said to Ameer Abool Kasem, "I know that the Ameer intends to kill me;" and as I had a little paper and ink with me, I wrote a note to the Nayeb, saying, "*Now I know that you are a traitor and a liar!* and that you will kill me, as you have killed Stoddart and Conolly;" and I gave the note to Ameer Abool Kasem, who gave it to the Nayeb.

Behadur then brought me, through a water-hole, to the house of the Yawer (major), situated about three hundred feet distant from the Nayeb's house, whence Behadur and the Yawer promised to let me escape that very evening. The evening approached, when the Yawer came, and said that the Ameer, under the supposition that I had escaped, had sent soldiers on all the different roads to pursue me; it would be

therefore better for me to stay there until the troops of the Ameer had come back, and after they had given up pursuing me. He (the Yawer) and Behadur would accompany me to Shahr-Sabz, Khoollom, and even as far as India. I told them that I was convinced that the Nayeb was a traitor and a liar, in whose words in future I should place no reliance, and that I expected my fate with patience and resignation.

Both Behadur and the Yawer went out of the room, when a female, in the most coquettish manner, and unveiled, entered it. I at once observed the trap, and exclaimed, in a loud voice, and with great apparent rage, "Go to hell!" The Yawer and Behadur immediately entered, and asked what was the matter? I explained the whole. It was the same trick which the rascally Nayeb tried to play to Stoddart and Conolly; for I heard from different people that the same stratagem had been practised on them, with a view to forcing them to become Muhammedans, but in vain. To this he compels every slave he takes, in order to sell the issue from them as slaves.

I slept at night in the house of the Yawer, Behadur and Hussein Ali, both servants of the Nayeb, near me; and when I told them that they should sleep at a greater distance from me, they objected that the Nayeb had ordered them to do so, but I pushed them away by force.

The next morning, one of the king's head officers came and ordered me, in the name of the king, to go to town, and that I should instantly receive leave for my departure. I obeyed; but previous to this I was brought to the Nayeb, where the rascal told me that he had given twenty tillahs to the head officer that he should treat me with respect, and that I should get leave to depart after twenty days.

I left the horrid garden of that blood-hound, and rode to the town. It was on a Friday. I was first ordered to make my selaam to the king; but was not brought as usual pre-

viously to a decent room of the palace, but was obliged to wait outside the gate until the Ameer appeared, which he soon did. He looked sternly at me, and evidently displeased. I was then ordered by his Majesty to accompany the Makhram, and two other guards, to my old quarters in the Toora Khane, where now, also, Abbas Kouli Khan was residing, and that I should not stir out of the house without especial order from his Majesty. I came to the Toora Khane, and occupied the same room which Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had previous to their execution.

I called on Abbas Kouli Khan, who, fortunately, lived in the same house, so that he did not come under the prohibition I considered,—at least I was determined not to understand the order in that sense. He instantly said, "I swear to you, by God and the *Koran*, that I will not leave Bokhara without you." I told him that Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan had told me, that he had been ordered by Muhammed Shah to effect my detention and death at Bokhara. He in a most dignified manner denied the charge, and produced his instructions from Haje Mirza Agasee, prime-minister to the king of Persia, in which he was distinctly ordered to effect my release from Bokhara.

Towards the evening, the Ameer sent to me the following message:—"There were people at Bokhara from Khokand and Organtsh, whose inhabitants were guilty of blood; and beside them, people from Cabūl, Cashmeer, and Hindūstaun. None of them had been molested by him. All of them enjoyed his protection. He (his Majesty) therefore felt greatly incensed that I had openly declared at Bokhara that his Majesty's intention was to put me to death; that his Majesty had been red in his face from anger. He therefore now asked me whether I would leave Bokhara without honour and in disgrace, or with honour and filled with favour. In the first case, his Majesty would furnish me with a simple passport;

in the second case, he would, after his return to Samarcand, adorn me with a robe of honour, and send an ambassador with me to England."

I sent as an answer that I repented having given cause to his Majesty to be angry with me; and with respect to the mode of my going from Bokhara, I left that entirely to his Majesty's choice.

The next day he set out for Samarcand with the intention of reconquering Khokand and Tashkand.

CHAPTER XVII.

Jews obtain leave from the Ameer to visit Dr. Wolff—They sing with him, and ask for the Names of illustrious Jews who had embraced Christianity—He tells them of several, *viz.* Emanuel Veith, M. D., Dr. Mayers, Dr. August Neander, Dr. Ratisbon, Isaac da Costa, Dr. Kabbadose, Madame Dorothea Schlegel. Conversation with a Polish Jew. Various Anecdotes. Muhammed Bakher Nakash, the Servant of Conolly, abjures Islam, and says the Christians are better Men than the Muhammedans—he is brought before the Sheikh Islam, persists in his Avowal; is sent to Prison, and flogged. Ameer returns—sends to Dr. Wolff a Mullah to know whether he will embrace the Muhammedan Religion—Dr. Wolff replies, *Never*. Executioner sent also. Letter from the Shah—Haje Ibrahim, the brother of Abdul Samut Khan, informs the Nayeb of the Letter, and urges him to prevent Abbas Kouli Khan from receiving it. Muhammed Bakher saved by Dr. Wolff. Atrocities of Abdul Samut Khan—Gets a Tūrkomaun beheaded, who came to save Stoddart; also Ephraim a Jew, from Meshed—Prisoners in his Garden; their Moanings and Wailings. Impression throughout the Muhammedan Countries that England and Russia will seize all those Regions—Remark of Bokharee to Dr. Wolff—The Affghauns praise the English. Habeeb, weeping, tells Dr. Wolff that he is to die—Servants of Abdul Samut Khan announce his Death, and show a Letter from Abdul Samut Khan to that effect. Dr. Wolff makes up his mind to die.

PREVIOUS to the departure of the Ameer for Khokand, the Jews most kindly asked his leave to visit me, which was granted. They called on me, and desired me to sing a Hebrew Melody, for they said, "Your voice is sonorous and sweet." I sang in a plaintive strain, "By the waters of Babylon we sate down and wept, for we remembered Zion," &c.

After this, we sang the hymn of the Jews in Tūrkistaun:

The King our Messiah shall come.
The Mighty of the mighty is He.
The King, the King, the King our Messiah shall come.

The Blessed of the blessed is He.
The King, the King, our Messiah.
The Great One of the great is He.

The Jews here asked me whether there were any Jews of distinction in our days who had embraced Christianity. I replied, "Several;" and they wished to have their names, which they wrote down. I gave them the following:

1st. Emanuel Veith, M.D., now Domprediger of the cathedral of St. Stephen's, at Vienna.
2nd. Dr. Mayers, Professor of Jurisprudence at Tübingen.
3rd. Dr. August Neander, at Berlin.
4th. Rev. Dr. Ratisbon, in France.
5th. Isaac da Costa, in Amsterdam.
6th. Dr. Kabbadose, in Amsterdam.
7th. Madame Dorothea Schlegel.

I gave them the following history of them:

"Emanuel Veith was born in the year 1788, at Klattau, in Bohemia, and studied regularly at the university of Prague: after this at Vienna. He distinguished himself so much in medicine, and especially in the veterinary department, and natural history, that he received the office of Professor of Medicine and Natural History, and Director of the Veterinary Hospital at Vienna, when only twenty-four years of age. He was the most popular physician at Vienna, not only on account of his success, but also by reason of his benevolence and philanthropy: when suddenly he began to read the Bible, and the writings of Saint Augustin and Jerome. He studied theology, and is now the greatest divine and preacher at Vienna. His Sermons on the Resurrection of Lazarus; his Exposition of the Lord's Prayer; his Journeys to the Holy Mountains; his Religious Tales; and his work entitled The Instruments of Christ, are considered master-pieces in the German literature. I subjoin one of his poems for those who understand German:

Deine Gnad' O Herr uns ſchenke,
Deines Vater's Huld gedenke,
Und mit ſtarker Hand uns lenke,
Daß uns nicht der Trug verſenke
Das Vergangene verzeihe,
Dir was gegenwärtig weihe,
Fur die Zukunft Licht verleihe:
Daß wir auf den Sand nicht bauen
Nicht auf Nichtiges vertrauen,
Nie in dienem Dienst erlauen
Und dann ewiglich dich ſchauen.

"Emanuel Veith was for a while member of the order of the Redemptorists; but he was too honest for them, and therefore dismissed. He is canon of the cathedral of St. Stephen's at Vienna. The following remarks of this able writer will, I doubt not, prove acceptable to my readers. 'Jesus Christ is King at present, but he is like a king who does not now appear surrounded by his grandees with sceptre and crown, sitting upon a throne, but one who wanders in disguise in the fields in the garment of a shepherd; yet that to Him all glory and power belong, will one day be clear as the sun to all sceptics.'

"Dr. Mayers was born in the year 1798, in Germany, and distinguished himself for his knowledge of the Talmud at the early age of seven. He was born at Freudenthal, near Stuttgart, in Wirtemburg. He entered the Gymnasium of Stuttgart, and previous to entering the University of Tübingen he made a speech in Greek that astonished the learned. He is now a pious Christian, and a celebrated professor.

"Dr. August Neander is also of Jewish parents. Though Neologistic in his views, he is evidently a sincere and pious inquirer after truth. He is Professor of Theology at Berlin. His *Apostolical and Ecclesiastical History* are the productions of a mind deeply imbued with spiritual religion.

"Ratisbon is a Roman Catholic priest, whose *Life of St. Bernard* has excited the greatest sensation in France.

"Isaac da Costa springs from those Jews who were what are called 'the Compelled,' '*anusim*' in Spain, and is grand-nephew to the famous Uriel da Costa, canon of Barcelona, who, when he had left Spain and reached Amsterdam, returned to Judaism, which he embraced and all his family, and after this committed suicide. Isaac da Costa was educated as a Jew at Amsterdam, but studied the law at Leyden, and was converted, through the instrumentality of Bilderdyk, to the Christian religion: and he was instrumental to the conversion of his mother and family to that faith; and also Dr. Kabbadose, in the same manner as Uriel da Costa had converted his family to the Jewish belief. Da Costa is a celebrated writer, and a devoted admirer of the spirit of the Middle Age, but a high Calvinist in his views; a man of powerful eloquence, and a poet.

"Dr. Kabbadose, the convert of Da Costa, spends his days in acts of benevolence. I must here observe, that it must be confessed that only those Jews that have had a thorough education have proved themselves to be sincere Christians; and it seems, therefore, highly desirable that the colleges in England should be open to the Jews.

"Madame Dorothea Schlegel was the daughter of the most celebrated philosopher of the Jewish nation, Moses Mendelsohn. She married Veith, a Jewish banker at Berlin. When Friedrich Schlegel wrote his celebrated book *Lucinde*, Madame Veith replied to it in a book called *Florentine*. She had two sons of Veith, but was afterwards separated from Veith, and married Schlegel. Both of them, Schlegel and herself, became Roman Catholics at Cologne, when Schlegel became a mighty defender of the Middle Age, and his wife a great admirer of the Spanish literature. She translated several things from Spanish into German. Without pretending to be a preacher, she converted, through her conversation, many Neologists to the Christian religion. Her two sons Johannes Veith and Philip Veith, also, were baptized by Cardi-

nal Severoli, the Pope's Nuncio at Vienna. Both Johannes Veith and Philip Veith are celebrated painters in Germany. I knew them at Rome, where they enjoyed the highest esteem among both Roman Catholics and Protestants for their talents, genius, industry, and piety.

"I must not omit to record, also, of Philip Veith, that in the war of Germany against Napoleon, he and Theodor Körner, the well-known poet, entered as volunteers among the Prussians. He fought by the side of the chivalric La Motte Fouqué, in the battle of Leipzic. When a Prussian corps was yielding, Philip Veith called out, 'Forward, comrades!' cheered them to action, and conducted himself with such gallantry and heroism, that Blücher made him an officer on the battle plain."

About this time a Polish-Russian Jew, residing at Shamay, called on me. Among other points I conversed with him also about the distinguished Jews in Germany, when he reminded me of the following interesting anecdote, which my father told me when a boy myself. Rabbi Israel, of Brunswick, when a boy, was very poor; and one day, on his arrival at a convent of monks, hungry and fatigued, he begged the abbot to give him something to eat. The abbot ordered that some pork should be brought to him. Poor Israel of Brunswick said,—"Pardon me, your reverence, I am not allowed to eat pork." *Abbot.* "If you are such a fool, you shall not have any thing at all to eat." The poor Jew went away sighing. The abbot sent after him, and requested him to return. On his return, the abbot said to him: "Now, as you are so conscientious, and prefer rather suffering hunger to the transgression of your law, I shall make you the agent of my monastery." Israel went on prospering in the world, and became the richest man of Brunswick; and his son Jacobson was made by Napoleon knight of the Legion of Honour, and by Jerome Napoleon, President of all the Jews in Westphalia. Jacobson established a school for Jews and Gentiles at Seezen, near Brunswick.

I knew, when in the Propaganda, a journeyman tailor who was afterwards housekeeper of this Jacobson; his name was Reese. He left at last the house of Jacobson, and came to Rome, where he became acquainted with the valet of the old Princess Jablonowsky, and through him, with the Princess herself, who observed the great talents of Reese, and recommended him to Cardinal Litta, who received him as pupil of the Propaganda; and Reese is now Bishop of Michigan, in America.

The Polish-Russian Jew, now residing at Shamay, in Chinese Tatary, of whom I have just spoken, related to me the following account of the mother of the famous Rabbi Judah Hashid, born at Wurms, in Germany. When his mother was pregnant with him, she was walking in the street of Wurms, and a Christian, who was a great enemy to the Jews, intended to drive his carriage over her, but suddenly the tower fell upon one side, in order to overshadow her; from which time the tower of Wurms is crooked.

He then told me the following anecdote, (or rather brought it back to my remembrance, for I had heard it also in my father's house), of the conversion of Baron Adlerfeld, son to the famous Rabbi Jonathan Eubeschütz: "Baron Adlerfeld became so rich, that the Emperor of the Holy Roman empire made a baron of him. Adlerfeld resided at Dresden. He forgot in prosperity the religion of his forefathers, and became an infidel. His father, who was Rabbi at Hamburg, had died many years before his apostasy, when his ghost suddenly appeared before his son, and said: 'My son, remember that you are a son of Israel: if you repent, well; if not, the Lord will take you away, and cut you off from his congregation.' Baron Adlerfeld died a real believer in Moses and the Talmud."

We then talked about other learned Jews; *viz.* the celebrated Hezkiel Jampeles, also called Rabbi Landau, at Prague. I then gave to him also accounts of rich and in-

teresting Jews whom I knew in Germany. My Jewish friends in England and Germany will be glad to learn that I made the Jews of Bokhara acquainted with the following interesting members of their communion in Germany:

1st. The late Dr. Oppenheim, at Frankfort on the Main, who died in the year 1816. He was highly esteemed on account of his philanthropy, by Christians as well as by Jews.

2nd. Salomon Sichel, at Frankfort on the Main, who has now a son residing at Manchester, Nathan Sichel by name.

3rd. The family of Kaula, at Stuttgart, the richest and most benevolent Jews in Germany.

4th. Dr. Friedlander, in Berlin, the friend of Moses Mendelsohn.

5th. Mayr Obernick, translator of the Prophets.

6th. Mr. Zirndorfer, at Munich, distinguished by his knowledge of the German literature.

7th. Mr. Joelsohn, at Frankfort, one of the great reformers of the Jewish nation.

8th. Mr. Hesz, professor of the Jewish Philanthropic College at Frankfort on the Main.

My Jewish brethren will hence perceive that I remember them in distant countries.

I cannot forbear mentioning also a curious circumstance which happened to me in the year 1842. When I was a boy, thirteen years of age, I went at Frankfort to the Gymnasium, and learnt Latin. Dr. Oppenheim and Salomon Sichel behaved very kindly to me, but I was very idle; and having become ill, I left Frankfort in the year 1809. When I was curate at High Hoyland, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, in 1842, I called one day on my friends the manufacturers, Messrs. Joseph and George Norton, at Clayton West, when I met there a Jew, who addressed me in the following manner:—

Young man. You know my father.

W. Who is your father?

Young man. Mr. Sichel, of Frankfort.

W. Salomon Sichel?

Young man. He was my grandfather; my father's name is Nathan Sichel.

The Jews are, after all, a most clever people; they get over difficulties in a most singular manner. As an instance, I mention the following fact, which I heard of my friend Dr. Mc Caul. Dr. Mc Caul wished one day to have an interview with the late Rev. Solomon Hirschel, chief Rabbi of London; he therefore called on Rabbi Hirschel in the evening, and sent in his card. The Rabbi admitted him. He asked Dr. Mc Caul who he was; and Dr. Mc Caul told him that he was a missionary to the Jews.

Rabbi Hirschel. How are your converts going on?

Mc Caul. As the rest of the Jews,—some of them are good, some are bad.

Rabbi H. All of your converts are bad.

Mc Caul. Could you tell me something about the coming of the Messiah?

Rabbi H. We know nothing about it; after the Messiah shall have made his appearance, then we shall know it.

Mc Caul. Then fools will know it.

Rabbi H. Perhaps I am a fool. And thus the interview had an end.

While the Ameer was absent at Samarcand, Muhammed Bakher Nakash, *i. e.* the painter, formerly in the service of Conolly, loudly exclaimed in a bath, "The Frankee are by far better than the Mussulmans. Muhammed was no prophet. He was a cruel tyrant, and thus are all his followers. There is one God, but no prophet does exist." He was brought before the Sheikh Islam, and questioned about his public declaration.

Sheikh al-Islam (to Muhammed Bakher). Is it true that you have made such a declaration?

Muhammed Bakher. Yes. I have loudly proclaimed that there is no prophet.

Sh. You believe, perhaps, that Jesus is a prophet?

M. B. No.

Sh. Mullah Youssuff Wolff does not agree with you, for he believes that Jesus is not only a prophet, but he calls him also the Son of God.

M. B. I believe no prophet; but Jesus was a better man than Muhammed, and the followers of Jesus are better than the followers of Muhammed.

Muhammed Bakher was then sent to prison and flogged, but without any use. The mullahs then sent off an express courier to the Ameer, who was at that time at Samarcand; but he ordered them not to put him to death until he came back. On the return of the Ameer, he sent, as my readers will see in the next chapter, a mullah to me, to know whether I would become a Muhammedan; and an executioner, to threaten me with death.

But the letter of the king of Persia had arrived, which was written and sent, at the request of Colonel Sheil, to the care of the Assaff-ood-Dowla at Meshed, who delivered it to my friend Mullah Mehdee, who with the greatest secrecy delivered it into the hands of a Türkomaun for Abbas Kouli Khan at Bokhara. Most providential it was that Haje Ibrahim, brother of Abdul Samut Khan, was not at Meshed at the time; for on his return to Meshed, he learned that Mullah Mehdee had sent off a letter from the Shah to the Ameer. He in a rage ran to Mullah Mehdee, and said to him, "Why did you send away the letter from the king of Persia to the Ameer of Bokhara? and why did you not give the letter to me, when I would have forwarded the letter to my brother, Abdul Samut Khan, who would have delivered it himself to the king?"

Now that this fact is true, is clear; for Behadur, Abdul Samut Khan's servant above mentioned, told me that he had seen a letter from Haje Ibrahim, in which Haje Ibrahim wrote to Abdul Samut Khan, by an express messenger,

the following words: "That cursed Jew, Mullah Mehdee, has sent off a letter from the Shah to the Ameer, to be delivered by Abbas Kouli Khan. I was not at Meshed at the time, and therefore could not intercept the letter. Do all you can, dear brother, to prevent the letter coming into the hands of Abbas Kouli Khan; for if it reach him, you will not succeed in keeping the Frankee, and on his arrival in England he will confound us all."

That this statement of Behadur is true, is certain from the following circumstance: that on my arrival at Meshed, Mullah Mehdee himself told me, the instant he saw me, that Haje Ibrahim was sent from Meshed at the time, and was highly incensed with him for sending off the letter. This letter also deterred the king from doing any thing to Muhammed Bakher, as he was the servant to Conolly, and gave me liberty from captivity; and the king observed at the same time,—"No harm must be done to Muhammed Bakher, for Joseph Wolff is more than a mere derveesh."

I must now give, in addition to the above, a few more examples of the atrocities committed by that villain Abdul Samut Khan, testified to me by that respectable person Khoja Saheb of Cashmeer, and others. A Tūrkomaun came to Bokhara for the purpose of saving Stoddart. Abdul Samut Khan was informed of it, and he immediately gave notice of the attempt to the Ameer, who instantly ordered the Tūrkomaun's head to be struck off.

Ephraim, a Jew from Meshed, also arrived to assist Stoddart, when that villain informed the king of it, and the poor Jew was also beheaded. Whenever I was in the garden of that villain, he brought me on purpose near the place where he had his prisoners, and I heard the moanings and wailings of those who sighed in prison. He, well pleased with himself, said to me: "Youssuff Wolff, do you observe what power I have? The Ameer inflicts upon criminals only seventy-five stripes; but I two thousand stripes."

There is the impression, from the Dardanelles to the Oxus, and from thence to the utmost boundaries of Tibet, that England and Russia shall be the conquerors of the world, and the people are not dissatisfied with it; but, on the contrary, wish that that event may soon take place.

One of the people of Bokhara paid a visit to Dil Assa Khan; on his leaving him he saw me walking about, near my room. He looked at me, and said: "This Englishman in his mullah's dress is only the forerunner of great events; not without reason has he appeared here with the books of the Christians open, placed at his heart. This is a sign that very soon the Christian Powers shall set at defiance the whole of Islam, and Jesus shall be King over all the world for the space of forty years, and Dejaal (Antichrist) shall come."

An Affghaun sat down in the evening near my room, and said: "I am well acquainted with the mode of government in India: every Englishman in India is a king, and therefore they will not be satisfied with Hindūstaun alone, but their rule will be spread all over China; and Russia will soon be in possession of the city of Tūrkistaun, Khokand, and Organtsh;" and by a hint directed towards me, he indicated also the kingdom of Bokhara.

Another said, "I always told the people of Affghanistaun, 'Do not rise against the English people; for the English people have wings, and if you drive them out now, they will soon come again.'"

Another observed: "Russia and England are two great rival powers. A certain Vicovich was sent from Russia to Dost Muhammed Khan; but he was soon recalled, and he died by suicide."

Habeeb, one of the guards who watched me, came one day weeping in my room, and said, "Curses, thousand curses to Abdul Samut Khan! he has at last succeeded in inducing the king to send an order here to put you to death immediately on his return."

Scarcely had he done, when servants of Abdul Samut Khan entered my room, and showed to me actually a letter from Abdul Samut Khan to one of his officers, writing to him: "Hasrat" (his Majesty) "has at last decided to put to death the Englishman, and nothing will save the man. Let him go to the devil! what business had he to come to Bokhara?" I looked at the seal, and it was the seal of Abdul Samut; and gave myself up for lost.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Colonel Sheil.' Bad conduct of Dr. Wolff's Servants—Remark of Usbecks on the treatment of Dr. Wolff. Questions put by the Makhrams by order of the King to Dr. Wolff. Kindness of Abbas Kouli Khan to Dr. Wolff—is the noblest-minded Persian Dr. Wolff has seen—sends Dr. Wolff Food from his own Table—places a Servant with Dr. Wolff for his personal Safety—sends his Physician to Dr. Wolff to treat him for the Rishta. Abbas Kouli Khan and Dr. Wolff read together. Various Reports of the Ameer's Proceedings. Abbas Kouli Khan's religious Opinions. Conversation with People of Samarcand—they tell Dr. Wolff of Gold Mines and Turquoises near Samarcand—of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane. Letter of Abbas Kouli Khan to Lady Georgiana. Nayeb sends two thousand Tillahs to Dr. Wolff. The Letter of Lord Ellenborough reported to be at Balkh—arrives in forty Days—Seal broken. Abdul Samut Khan leaves Bokhara for Samarcand—his Message to Dr. Wolff. Vile conduct of the servant Abdullah—tries to rob Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff wishes the Jews to take charge of Abdul Samut Khan's Money—they decline it, on the ground that Abdul Samut Khan would take it from them, and make them pay for it. Letters arrive at Bokhara from the Brother of Conolly—Dr. Wolff opens them. Abbas Kouli Khan's continued Kindness to Dr. Wolff. The Jews visit Dr. Wolff—their curious method of Conversation. Dr. Wolff writes to the "Sovereigns of Europe." A second Letter, with strict Instructions about Dr. Wolff's Safety, arrives from the Shah. Letter to Captain Grover. Return of the Ameer and Abdul Samut Khan to Bokhara. King reads Lord Ellenborough's Letter—determines in his own mind, Abdul Samut Khan says, to kill Dr. Wolff—Others say that Abdul Samut Khan advised him to do so. Abbas Kouli Khan, Dil Assa Khan, and Dr. Wolff visit the Ameer—he does not look on Dr. Wolff. Letter to Lady Georgiana and his Son. All Letters sent open by Dr. Wolff. Mullah sent to Dr. Wolff to know if he would embrace Muhammedanism—he replies, *Never*. Executioner visits him—Dr. Wolff prepares for Death. Abbas Kouli Khan intimates to the Ameer that he has a Letter to deliver from the Shah. The Ameer receives it, and gives Dr. Wolff up to him.

It seems to me, that both Colonel Sheil and the Foreign-office at home have been deceived in the character of that blood-hound Abdul Samut Khan; and though I am sorry to

say any thing to the disparagement of Colonel Sheil, on account of the hospitality shown to me, and the prompt assistance he gave to me by forwarding the letter of the king of Persia to Bokhara, yet I must say that it appeared to me that Colonel Sheil seemed to be unwilling to be undeceived respecting the real character of Abdul Samut Khan, though my description of the character of that infamous villain was confirmed by Abbas Kouli Khan, and is further confirmed by every Persian who has been at Bokhara; and I perceive the infamy of that miscreant is well known to Monsieur de Bode and to Sir Claude Martin Wade.

On another day, my servant Abdullah entered my room in a furious way, and said, "Now they are going to kill you, and what shall I do here? I have no money for going back. Give me a letter to the ambassador of your nation at Teheraun to make me a present of two thousand tillahs; if not, I will kill you now. If you do so before the Ameer sends this order, I will get some Khoja (saint) to speak in your behalf." I took a stick and gave him such a beating as I never gave to any one, and I turned him out of the room, and out of my service; but Abbas Kouli Khan besought me to keep him again, as it would not be safe at Bokhara to suffer him to run about and excite, perhaps, the populace against me. So I took him again, which made him only more impertinent; and the villain Abdul Samut Khan encouraged him in it, and sent me word that I should give him a sum of money in order that he might not play the Haramzadeh, *i. e.* traitor. However, I must not go into details of what I suffered at Bokhara by that villain Abdul Samut Khan and my servant Abdullah. I can only say, that I frequently wished that the king of Bokhara would not delay my execution, in order to have peace for ever; and I must say, that it was an inconsiderate act of Colonel Sheil to send to me a demand for money from that villain from Bokhara to England; for by the items, he (Colonel Sheil) ought to have seen that the promise was extorted from a poor prisoner who had death before his eyes.

I was very ill one morning: on awaking from sleep, Abdullah screamed,—"I have committed a great error by coming to Bokhara with an infidel." I said, "Do you not perceive that I am very unwell?" Abdullah, in a most malicious manner, replied, "Then be well. All the same to me."

Usbecks from Bokhara who were present, and the guards of the king observed, "They try to kill this poor Englishman by annoying him." And another observed, "It is all at the advice of that villain Abdul Samut Khan, who wishes to bring our Ameer into difficulties with the English; and the villain would like to see Bokhara destroyed, and he himself gain by it."

On another day I got a message from the king. His Majesty wished to know whether the English people could make a bridge over the Oxus? I replied, "Yes, with very great ease." He immediately sent another Makhram with the question, "How many cannons have the English?" I replied, that I never counted them; but I was sure that they must have several thousand pieces of artillery. A third Makhram was sent the same day with the question, In how many days a caravan of camels would arrive in England? I replied, "No caravan of camels could proceed to England; such a thing is not seen in England."

The kindness I experienced from Abbas Kouli Khan at this trying period, when so many evils beset my path, and my life was on the brink of destruction, I must ever remember with the deepest gratitude, though he was by no means without apprehension for his own fate, but laboured, as all at Bokhara must, under terrible misgivings of his own personal safety. Abbas Kouli Khan was formerly governor of Bushire, in the Persian Gulf, and therefore acquainted with English people. He was a man of a higher sense of honour than I had ever met among the Persians. When he observed that I could not eat horse-flesh, and tea with salt and milk, and besides this, rice only half boiled, he sent me daily a pilaw of his own, cooked

in the Persian style; and as he perceived that I was in danger of being murdered by the guards set over me by the king, or by Abdullah my servant, or Dil Assa Khan, he sent one of his own servants to sleep in my apartment; and as he soon saw that I had an attack of the *rishta*, he sent one of his own physicians to bleed me.

I also was enabled to go every day to him, when we read together some of the Persian works, as *Scandername*, which details the adventures of Alexander, and *Tabari*, a book which I afterwards received as a present from the king. I heard, also, in his company, several contradictory reports from the camp of the king: for instance, one day the news came that the Ameer had arrived at the gates of Khokand, and that the Kazi, Mufti, and others had come forth to bring him the keys. Another day that the Ameer had, out of mercy to the inhabitants of Khokand, retired with his army; but the fact was, that he was beaten, and had lost twelve generals or Serkerdeha.

I also had many conversations with Abbas Kouli Khan on religion. His belief was, that the whole world would become Christians, and that Christ would govern forty days upon earth. After this, that Antichrist would appear, when all the world would become Mussulmans.

Whilst I was with Abbas Kouli Khan, there came people from Samarcand, who talked to me about the turquoises and gold mines which the Ameer of Bokhara had near Samarcand. They also conversed about Tamerlane, as though he were dead but yesterday. I heard, also, that Ghengis Khan had a Jew from Germany as his secretary. They preferred in general Tamerlane to Ghengis Khan, for they say of Ghengis Khan that he knew how to conquer a world,—that he was a Jehaan-Geer, a world taker; but that Tamerlane was not only a Jehaan-Geer, but also a Jehaan-Dar, a world-holder.

To instance the kindness of Abbas Kouli Khan, I need small proof. The following letter will alone supply ample

evidence of his kindly heart.* It is addressed to Lady Georgiana.

In the Name of the Highest!

I acquaint the exalted and virtuous lady, my kind and distinguished sister, the respected lady of the high in rank, the distinguished among the learned persons of the Christian faith,—the Reverend Joseph Wolff, that on my arrival at Bokhara my distinguished friend was much grieved, and his affairs were in a confused state. I brought him to my own place of residence, and I waited twice on his Highness the Ameer of Bokhara on his account; and I obtained permission for him to depart agreeably to the commands of his Majesty, my sovereign, on whom the regard of the universe is fixed,—may the whole world be his sacrifice! and agreeably to the orders of his Excellency, &c. &c., my lord the Haje, (prime-minister of Persia,)—may his great shadow be increased! that I should bring him along with me. His Highness the Ameer of Bokhara having had to undertake a two months' journey against Khokand, it was impossible for me to despatch him on his journey until the return of the Ameer. Again, a second Firmaun from his Majesty (the Shah) to the Ameer of Bokhara arrived, which I caused to be delivered in a suitable manner; and I did all that was incumbent on me in regard to the friendship subsisting between the two powerful governments of Persia and England. I obtained leave for him to depart by one means or another. In eight days more I shall bring him along with me in safety and health. Rest assured.

I have no ends in view or expectations in this. I did it in the service of my own government, and on account of the friendship subsisting between the two governments. I am the brother of my distinguished friend Joseph Wolff. I am also your brother, O virtuous lady! and you are my sister. I have written these few words at the request of my brother, and I present my compliments.

Bokhara, 6th Rejjeb, 1260, (23rd July, 1844).

Soon after the king's departure from Khokand, the Nayeb sent to me the two thousand tillahs, which he had made me promise to take on with me to Teheraun in order to deliver to

* This letter was kindly translated into English by Mr. Thomson at Teheraun.

Colonel Sheil, for the purpose of receiving twenty per cent. for the important services he had rendered to England; and which money, he gave me to understand, was a pledge to me that he was in earnest to procure my release speedily. The next day, however, he sent again for the money without a written order, and said that Mango, the Hindoo merchant, might give me bills for them, or any Jewish merchant at Bokhara. I sent him word that he should first send me back my note, and at the same time a written order to whom I should deliver the money; to which the Nayeb gave me no reply. He then sent to me Mortesa, the Kafila Bashi from Heraut, giving me to understand that he (Abdul Samut Khan) had kept Mortesa on purpose here, in order that he might enable me to escape concealed in a large trunk, in case that the Ameer should not give me permission to depart.

At last, forty days after the time at which it was pretended that the messenger was sent to Balkh for Lord Ellenborough's letter, the letter, as they said, arrived from Balkh, which might have been back easily in six days from the time the alleged messenger went to Balkh. Abdul Samut Khan sent the letter for my inspection. The seal was broken in two, which the Nayeb said happened on the road by the messenger having fallen from his horse. After the letter had arrived, Abdul Samut Khan set out for Samarcand to join the king, accompanied by two hundred disciplined troops and four pieces of cannon. The day of his departure he sent to me Behadur, his servant, telling me that I ought to give Abdullah a present of one hundred tillahs, in order that he might not commit Haramzadekee, *i. e.* rascality and treachery: I gave him, however, only twenty. Abdullah became worse and worse every day, and in the night-time I observed that he tried to rob me of the money, in order, as I was afterwards assured of by trustworthy people, to hand it back to the Nayeb, and after this to murder me, either at Bokhara by poison, or on the road in any way he could; and he (Abdul

Samut Khan) having my note of hand for it, would then have come upon the British government for the money; so that he would have been twice paid, exactly as he did with Captain Conolly. For this reason also, Mortesa, the Kafila Bashi, was detained at Bokhara. I, in order to rid myself of the burden, wished a respectable Jew at Bokhara to take the money, and give me a bill on Meshed; but Meshiakh, and Mullah Simha, and Pinehas, (these were the names of the Jews to whom I applied,) told me that they were acquainted with Abdul Samut Khan's conduct towards Conolly and Stoddart. Should that rascal, they said, find out that I had delivered the money into the hands of the Jews, he would force them, after my departure, to deliver the money over to him: they therefore declined accepting the money.

Two letters, by the hands of two different people, arrived from the brother of Conolly, addressed to Conolly, wishing to know whether he and Stoddart were alive or dead. I opened the letters, gave several ducats to the bearers, and in order to induce them to depart quickly, I informed them that I had told the king that letters had reached me from India, which induced them to start immediately for Balkh and Cabūl. I was fully prepared for this, from the following kind letter received from Mrs. Macnaghten, Conolly's sister, before I quitted England, when I first offered to go to Bokhara in 1843. Had that offer been accepted, my conviction is that I should have saved the lives of both Stoddart and Conolly, for they were not executed until the July of 1843.

My dear Sir,

I send you a copy of the reply Mr. Macnaghten received last evening from Lord Aberdeen, from which you will perceive that Government do not feel themselves justified in sanctioning your going to Bokhara. Colonel Sheil, it appears, has been urged, both by our government and by Lord Ellenborough, to exert his utmost efforts to ascertain the fate of the captives, and it is supposed that we may consequently, in the course of a month, receive certain information respecting them. My eldest brother also, who

resides in the north of India, has entrusted the Jew with a note to Sheil; if either of the officers are alive, he promises to obtain an answer. We must therefore wait with patience, endeavouring to cast our care on Him whose ways, though to us at times inscrutable, are full of wisdom and love. Your noble willingness to undertake so perilous a cause for one so dear to us, will ever be remembered with the deepest admiration and gratitude. Your reward is with God, who will assuredly pour His blessing upon you, although it is not deemed expedient that you should carry out your labour of love.

With our best regards to Lady Georgiana, and sincere thanks, believe me, my dear Sir, ever yours most sincerely,

June 13, 1843. ELLEN MACNAGHTEN.

What I suffered all the time of the king's absence I cannot describe. The good Abbas Kouli Khan sent me victuals constantly from his table, in order that I might not be poisoned by Abdullah. In the night-time he took possession of the key of my room, in order that I might not be murdered, and kept his servant in my room to protect me, as I have mentioned. Every moment a spy from the king came to ask me what I did. The Jews, however, had the courage to come, and I advised them to come when the king's Makhrams were with me; when each of us looked in a Hebrew Bible, as if we were reading, and thus carried on our conversation in Hebrew in the presence of the Usbecks, who all the time believed that we were reading in the book by turn, whilst I learnt every particular of the conduct of the king and the Nayeb towards Stoddart and Conolly, particulars of the death of the latter, and of the licentious and tyrannical conduct of the king. Conversations not political we carried on in Persian.

At this period I wrote and sent from Bokhara the following letter:

To all the Monarchs of Europe.

Sires! Bokhara, 1844.

I set out for Bokhara to ransom the lives of two officers, Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly; but both of them

were murdered many months previous to my departure, and I do not know whether this blood of mine will not be spilt.

I do not supplicate for my own safety; but, Monarchs, two hundred thousand Persian slaves, many of them people of high talent, sigh in the kingdom of Bokhara. Endeavour to effect their liberation, and I shall rejoice in the grave that my blood has been thus the cause of the ransom of so many human beings. I am too much agitated, and too closely watched, to be able to say more.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

During the absence of the king, a second letter arrived from his Majesty the king of Persia to the king of Bokhara, at the solicitation of Colonel Sheil, which letter was delivered to Abbas Kouli Khan: he immediately showed the letter to me. His Majesty the king of Persia had written: "The greatest friendship subsists between England and Persia; and therefore, if you do not send back Joseph Wolff with Abbas Kouli Khan, I shall become enraged with you."

At this period also I wrote the following letter to Captain Grover:

Dear Friend, Bokhara, June, 1844.

I have now been already two months in this place, and though five or six times the King has promised to send me instantly to England, with one of his own ambassadors, I am in the greatest danger. I cannot stir out of the house without a guard of three men.

Dil Assa Khan, the fellow sent with me by the Assaff-ood-Dowla, has shamefully robbed, deceived, and outraged me. The Persian ambassador, Abbas Kouli Khan, is kind to me, but I think he will not have it in his power to rescue me. The Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, has extorted from me a writing to pay him five thousand tomauns to effect my liberation. I suspect that he was the cause of Stoddart and Conolly's death, in spite of his continued protestations of friendship.

Pray console my dear wife and child as much as you can. I love them dearly. The Ameer is now at Samarcand, and I am here awaiting the most fatal orders from the King daily to reach me. It is true that poor Stoddart openly professed Christianity

after he had made a forced profession of Muhammedanism. Do for me what you can, *as far as the honour of England is not compromised.* All the inhabitants wish that either Russia or England should take the country.

Yours affectionately,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

P.S. Do not believe any reports of my speedy departure, for I am in great danger.

Forty or fifty days (for I lost all certainty of date) after the king's departure, the king and Abdul Samut Khan returned to Bokhara. My servant Abdullah, immediately, without asking leave of me, ran to the Nayeb, who sent me word by him, as also by Mirza Abdul Wahab, that the king had said, after he had perused Lord Ellenborough's letter: "Now it is proper that I should kill Joseph Wolff." But I was informed by others who were present when the king had read the letter, that the Nayeb said to the king, "Now it is proper that your Majesty should kill Joseph Wolff, as the Governor-general tries to frighten your Majesty." A fortnight before the king's arrival, Abdul Samut Khan had written to me from the camp, that his Majesty had been well pleased with the letter, and had said that he would soon send me to my country. Abbas Kouli Khan, Dil Assa Khan, and myself, went to meet the king near the palace; he looked away from me. The crowd observed, "It will not go well with that Englishman."

In this hour of deep distress and despondency, I sent through Sir Charles Napier, *viâ* India, the following letter:

My dearest Wife and Child,

Never, never, never for a moment lose your love and obedience and faith in Jesus Christ; and pray for me, that I may remain faithful to Him in the hour of trial. Entreat the Churches in England to pray for me to our most blessed Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Give my regards to all my friends.

Your most loving husband and father,

JOSEPH WOLFF.

I sent all letters from Bokhara open, even that to the sovereigns of Europe; and this latter letter was forwarded by

the king himself. Had they been able to read them, no doubt I should have died.

The day following, a mullah came, and asked me, in his Majesty's name, whether I would turn Mussulman. I replied, "Tell the king, NEVER—NEVER—NEVER!" He asked me, "Have you not a more polite answer for the king?" I said, "I beg you to tell his Majesty, that you asked me whether I had not a more polite answer for his Majesty, and I said, 'Decidedly not.'"

A few hours after the executioner came,—the same who had put to death Stoddart and Conolly, and said, "Joseph Wolff, to thee it shall happen as it did to Stoddart and Conolly," and made a sign at my throat with his hand. I prepared for death, and carried opium about with me, that, in case my throat should be cut, I might not feel the pain. However, at last I cast away the opium, and prayed, and wrote in my Bible these words:

My dearest Georgiana and Henry,
I have loved both of you unto death.
Your affectionate husband and father.
Bokhara, 1844. J. WOLFF.

But that very same day, Abbas Kouli Khan sent word to the Ameer, that he had received a letter for his Majesty from Muhammed Shah. The Ameer sent word that Abbas Kouli Khan should send the letter by the Shekhawl; but Abbas Kouli Khan replied, that he had received orders from his court to deliver the letter in person. The Ameer sent word again that he should send the letter, but Abbas Kouli Khan protested against it, when his Majesty at last consented to his coming to the palace. Abbas Kouli Khan delivered the letter to the Ameer; after having perused it he said, "Well, I make a present to you of Joseph Wolff: he may go with you."

CHAPTER XIX.

Ameer sends for the Servants of Abbas Kouli Khan and Dil Assa Khan, but omits Dr. Wolff's by mistake, to give them Robes of Honour—Interview with the Nayeb—Presents from the King. The Ameer tells Dr. Wolff to ask a Favour of him—Dr. Wolff declines doing so. Ameer determines to send an Ambassador to England. Vile conduct of Abdul Samut Khan. Audience of leave to depart—Ameer commends the Conduct of Dr. Wolff—censures that of Stoddart and Conolly. Reception in Bokhara by the People. Murders committed by Abdul Samut Khan. First Plan by which the Ameer might be effectually checked in his Atrocities—Second Plan for same. English Honour requires some Notice to be taken of the Ameer's Conduct. Character of Ameer. —brutal, lustful, tyrannical, but not so to the Poor; fond of Information; deeply affected at having put to death Stoddart and Conolly. Dr. Wolff prefers Ameer to Abdul Samut Khan. Description of Bokhara by Mr. Mc Gregor. Population of Khiva—Trade of those Countries—Russian Trade. Dignitaries of the State—Ecclesiastical Dignitaries.

THE day after the presentation of the Shah's letter, the Ameer sent for Abbas Kouli Khan's and Dil Assa Khan's servants, to ask them the ordinary questions before the robes of honour were distributed, but he did not send for mine. Abbas Kouli Khan was frightened, and said,—"Do not stir out of my room; if they want to detain you, I will defend you with my sword." However, my servant was omitted by mere mistake, and a message soon arrived with a summons for him.

I was then ordered to go to the Nayeb by command of the king. The rascal told me shortly, "There are no Russian slaves for you. I give you one thousand tillahs more, which you will deliver with the other two thousand; and three thousand tillahs you have to give me for my trouble, including a present of eight hundred tillahs to my son Abdullah Khan;

and the two thousand two hundred tillahs I have spent for you among his Majesty's officers. You must therefore give me now a note of hand for six thousand tillahs.

W. Give me back my other notes of hand. He did so, which I tore instantly to pieces.

Abdul Samut Khan. Why do you tear them before you have written the other?

W. I will write you now another. I wrote thus:

In the garden of the infamous Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, surrounded by his banditti, and compelled by him, I write that he forced from me a note of hand for six thousand tillahs.

JOSEPH WOLFF, *Prisoner.*

I desired him to give me back also my letter of his good services to me, that I might write another. This he would not do. Abbas Kouli Khan had sent his servant after me, afraid lest something might happen to me there; I therefore returned immediately to the Toora Khane. At last I was called down to the room of Abbas Kouli Khan, when ninety tillahs were given to me from the king, as a present; a horse with a silver saddle, and a shawl. Dil Assa Khan received only forty-five tillahs, but neither shawl nor horse; and the Shekhawl then turned to Abbas Kouli Khan and said, "His Majesty had first intended to send an ambassador with Joseph Wolff to England, but as he had brought no letters from the British government, he has renounced this idea, especially as he goes with you; and you and he can explain to Muhammed Shah and in England the reason of the death of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly."

A few days after the presents of the king were delivered, suddenly a Makhram entered my room with a Persian manuscript, called *Tawareekh Tabbaree*, as a present from the king to me; and his Majesty requested me to ask a favour. I replied, that his Majesty's bounty, especially in sending me away in such an honourable manner, was so great, that I had no other favour to ask. I only begged his Majesty to add his

seal to the book, which he did, and then sent me word that he was, after all, determined to send Ameer Abool Kasem, his chief Makhram, as ambassador with me to England. I replied, that his Majesty might do what he pleased, but as his Majesty sent one to Muhammed Shah, there was no necessity for it. The Ameer sent a Makhram to Abbas Kouli Khan, to ask what the necessary expense of an ambassador to England might be. Abbas Kouli Khan, who wished to dissuade the Ameer from this, replied, "Two hundred thousand tillahs." However the Ameer was determined now upon sending an ambassador, for the assassin Abdul Samut Khan had told him that if he did not send an ambassador with me, Abbas Kouli Khan would have the credit of having effected my release; and besides this, he (Abdul Samut Khan) had borrowed for me from merchants three thousand tillahs, with which I might easily defray the expense of an ambassador to England, whilst at the same time he made my servant Abdullah, Mortesa, Abbas, and others, promise to poison the ambassador on the road; for he well knew that on his return the ambassador would expose his villany from my information, and the authority of my Government possibly, if his credentials were received.

Abbas Kouli Khan and myself were then called up to the Ameer. I was allowed to ride on horseback with Abbas Kouli Khan through the gates, whilst Dil Assa Khan was ordered to remain behind. We appeared before the king. He said to me: "I send with you Ameer Abool Kasem, to accompany you to England. Stoddart and Conolly excited Khokand and Organtsh to war, and therefore were put to death. You, Joseph Wolff, proved yourself to be a man of understanding and knowledge, and therefore I treated you with honour."

W. Europeans frequently come to a country without knowing the customs of it, and make, therefore, mistakes which they do not intend."

We then left Bokhara the day following, amidst thousands

of congratulating inhabitants, who called my liberation "a new birth!" I succeeding in taking with me four slaves; but Abbas Kouli Khan bought with his own money twenty slaves, whom he ransomed, and took with him one thousand of those who had previously bought their liberty.

The following people have been killed at Bokhara, at the instigation of Abdul Samut Khan:

1. Youssuf Khan, from Scio.
2. Colonel Stoddart.
3. Captain Conolly.
4. A Türkomaun from Merwe, sent to Bokhara to assist in the escape of Colonel Stoddart.
5. Ephraim, a Jew from Meshed, who brought letters for Conolly.
6. An Englishman, who passed by the name of Hatta.
7. Captain Wyburd.
8. Five Englishmen, executed outside the town of Jehaar-Joo.
9. Naselli.
10. Haje Muhammed Khokanee, Yoos-Bashi of the Sultan of Constantinople.

The grand Kazi, his servant Molam Beyk, Mahsom, Khoja Saheb from Cashmeer, Ushur Beyk, Saadat, several merchants from Persia, and Abdul Samut Khan's own servants, accuse him as the murderer; nor does he deny the perpetration of these atrocities himself.

Haje Ismael, a merchant, left Bokhara with me. He had been long in Yarkand and Cashgar. He told me that several Englishmen had arrived at Yarkand, who escaped from the disaster at Cabūl. They were well treated, but not allowed to leave the place. If the Ameer had permitted me to proceed *vid* Yarkand and Russia, I certainly would have taken that road. Haje Ismael also informed me that they have at Cashgar, Yarkand, and throughout Chinese Tartary, beacons of fire, by which they are informed of the departure and approach of caravans from an immense distance.

The question may here, after the detail of these atrocities,

be asked, Is there no way of punishing the king of Bokhara, and ought it to be done? and what advantages may accrue from punishing him, and what disadvantages from not punishing him?

Now first, Is there no way of punishing him? There are several ways of punishing him, and this most surely. The first, and the most straightforward, would be, by sending an army from Sinde through Candahar, and from Candahar, through Maymona, to Bokhara. On that road there would be villages upon villages, and provisions and water enough; and in order to induce Kohandel Khan, the Ameer of Candahar, not to lay any hindrance in the way, they should allow him to take possession of Ankhoy, which place is governed by a Khan, but one who is tributary to the king of Bokhara, a robber and slave-maker; and Kohandel Khan ought to be made to promise to the British army, that after his taking Ankhoy, he would give liberty to the Persian slaves residing at Ankhoy. Dost Muhammed Khan ought to be allowed to send an army to Khoollom and Balkh, whilst all the time the British army should march from Ankhoy to Karkee, where they would cross the Oxus, for which reason they must take a good deal of timber with them, in order to be able to make a flying-bridge. A few shots of artillery from the part of the English army will put to flight the whole host of Usbecks. Having once crossed the Oxus, they should issue proclamations to all the inhabitants of Bokhara, saying that nothing should be done to them in case they delivered up, alive or dead, the Ameer, and his Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, which I am sure would be instantly done. The British army then should proclaim the Ameer's son the rightful successor to the throne, which would pacify the whole nation; but the Persian slaves, two hundred thousand in number, ought to be made free, which would give popularity to the English nation all over Persia, Khokand, Tashkand, and Yarkand. The name of Sir Charles Napier, governor of Sinde, which has already

struck terror all over Affghanistaun, Beloochistaun, Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand, would supply twenty thousand men; for he is called now at Bokhara the Rustam of Dowlat, which means the 'giant of England.'

The other plan of marching towards Bokhara will be, to allow Persia to take permanent possession of Sarakhs and Mowr, and thus for ever put a stop to the depredations of the Türkomauns of Mowr; and also to take Jehaar-Joo, a frontier city of Bokhara this side of the Oxus, and then allow them to march towards Bokhara in order to liberate Persian slaves there, but on condition that the Persian army should evacuate Bokhara after having taken prisoner the Ameer, his Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, and placed on the throne the Ameer's son. It should march back by Maymona and Ankhoy, in order to liberate the slaves there, and thus return triumphantly to Persia, enriched by thousands of Persian subjects, and the additional possession of Mowr and Jehaar-Joo. In order that the expedition of the Persian army might be crowned with success, and that, at the same time, the inhabitants of Bokhara and all the countries around should be convinced that that expedition was undertaken at the instigation of the British government, some regiments of British soldiers ought to be sent with it. The advantage of punishing the king of Bokhara, either from the side of Sinde or with the assistance of Persia, would be this: First, that such an occurrence as the murder of two British officers would not be repeated, either at Bokhara or in any other adjacent countries; and European travellers might then with more ease go there and pursue their researches in those interesting countries; and the light of the Gospel would become diffused all over Bokhara, Khokand, &c.; and Persian slaves at Bokhara, with those of Ankhoy and Maymona included, amounting in the whole to the number of two hundred and fifty thousand, be set at liberty; and the name of Englishmen would be blessed even by the Usbecks themselves, for having delivered

them from the hands of two blood-thirsty tyrants, the Ameer and his Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan. Should England, however, not take any further notice of the atrocious murder committed by the Ameer at the instigation of the Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan, our country will lose all the moral influence it now possesses in these countries; and Khiva and Khokand, where such a crime has not yet been committed, may follow the example of their enemy the Ameer of Bokhara, in order to show that they can do so with the same impunity; and thus England will fall into contempt even in Persia.

I have here also to observe, that on my arrival at Bokhara, I immediately asked what had become of Hassan Baba, the man sent by the Assaff-ood-Dowla at the request of Colonel Sheil, who was a Mervee. To my great astonishment, I learned that though he had arrived two months before my arrival at Bokhara, he had never seen the Ameer; and though he had delivered the letter and present of the Assaff-ood-Dowla, his Majesty never deigned to give him any answer whatever. This shows still further the necessity for controling him. I shall take this opportunity of saying a few words on the character of the Ameer.

My readers may ask what I think about the character of the Ameer. There can be no doubt that he is tyrannical and cruel; witness the deaths of his five brothers, and the many murdered Makhrams who refused to pander to his passions. Not only was Muhammed Ali Khan, king of Khokand, murdered by him, and his pregnant wife also killed, but even the living child was severed from her womb and cut to pieces. His profligacy is universally spoken of; his disposition is not only suspicious, but variable, yet at the same time we must not forget some good points.

He does not tyrannize over his poor subjects, who pass by the name of Fukarra, but protects them powerfully against the tyranny of the Serkerdeha, and is therefore liked by the

commons and detested by the nobility. He is not fond of money, and hates bribery in the extreme; affects to take Timur as his pattern, and has therefore a similar motto for his seal, *i. e.* Hakan Adalat,—'truth and equity.'

His desire for information is unbounded, and he therefore puts to strangers question after question; and if he were not in the hands of Abdul Samut Khan, he might yet become another Muhammed Ali,—and with this advantage over the Pasha of Egypt, that he would have contrived to make the poor happy, of which Muhammed Ali has no idea. I must repeat, that it was a great mistake of the British government not to have allowed his ambassador to come here. Even the Russian ambassador told me that his government would not have any thing to do with the king of Bokhara until the Ameer had sent an ambassador to England, apologizing for his conduct. He gets soon incensed, and when he is angry the blood comes into his face, and creates convulsive action of the muscles; and in such fits he gives the most outrageous orders, reckless of consequences. He has put down by the simple word, Hookum, *i. e.* 'order,' the most ancient customs, and has overthrown the power of the mullahs utterly. He delights to hear that people tremble at his name, and laughs with violence when he hears of their apprehensions. He is jealous of Muhammed Ali, in Egypt, and says, that his country will never equal Bokhara. He expressed no contempt for England, and was exceedingly anxious to become reconciled to it; but the continual suspicions infused into his mind made him hesitate dismissing me,—suspicions engrafted there by those who well knew this weak point of his nature; and, as the Kazi Kelaun assured me, he more than once had exclaimed, "The wounds of my heart for having slain those English people will never heal."

And I must now declare, that I prefer him, in spite of his faults, to the base Abdul Samut Khan; and Colonel Sheil,

knowing that Abdul Samut Khan was in India, ought to have asked of Sir Claude Martin Wade, who is well acquainted with Abdul Samut Khan's character, what kind of a man he was. I am now in England, and enabled to reflect on subjects more maturely than at the time when I was surrounded with dangers, and suffering from illness; and I must say, that I cannot understand why Colonel Sheil refused to give me a letter for the king of Bokhara, whilst he gave me two letters of introduction, the one for Haje Ibrahim, Abdul Samut Khan's brother, a most consummate villain, and another for Abdul Samut Khan himself.

Let us now look a little at another point,—the commerce between these countries and Russia. The following statement of Mr. Mc Gregor, the secretary to the Board of Trade, is highly valuable, subject however to some very important corrections:—

The trade of Russia with Khiva and Bokhara appears to be growing into importance, chiefly from Nijnei-Novogorod, and through the town of Orenburg, on the river Aral. This town is admirably situated for trade with the Kirghises, and with Khiva and Bokhara, although a part of the Russian trade with the countries east of the Caspian is carried on from Astrakan across that sea, and to some extent through Persia. Orenburg, which has a population estimated at nineteen thousand inhabitants, is situated on the north bank of the Aral. This long tortuous river, with the mountain range of the same name, forms a boundary between European Russia and Asia. It is shallow, and of little advantage for navigable purposes, but it abounds with fish. The town of Orenburg is regularly built and fortified. The trade of the town is chiefly carried on at bazaars, on the south or Asiatic side of the river.

In 1833 there arrived, according to Schnitzler, fourteen caravans of two thousand five hundred and forty-seven camels, exclusive of horses; and thirteen caravans of four thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine camels, and two hundred and sixty-four horses departed, laden with goods, for various parts of Asia, chiefly for the country of the Kirghises, for Khiva, and for Bokhara.

The Khanat of Khiva, which now comprises a vast region along the Caspian from Persia, north to the Kirghises Tartar country, and east to the Oxus and the Lake Ural, has only, according to Burnes, a population not exceeding two hundred thousand inhabitants. He describes them as organized bandits; and, according to other authors, they are not generally better than predatory savages. It is agricultural where the ground is sufficiently fertile for cultivation. There are few horned cattle; sheep, goats, and horses are numerous, and all these are used as, and considered, the chief food of the inhabitants. There are few manufactures, except some coarse cottons and silk stuffs made by the women. Camels are chiefly used as beasts of burden, and caravans of these proceed annually for Russian merchandise to Orenburg, Astrakan, and Karaghan, on the east coast of the Caspian, and others go south to Cabūl and Persia. This trade is conducted by the Tūrkomauns, Khivans, and Persians. The Khan, who is chief of the Usbecks, or dominant races, levies duties on goods entering or passing through the Khanat; and especially at the ports or landing-places of Mangasluk and Karaghan, where boats with goods arrive from Astrakan. The capital of Khiva is a town of mud huts, with three stone mosques, and a mud palace. Its chief trade is in slaves, of whom there are about forty thousand in the Khanat; and it is said there are many captured Russians, who are slaves in Khiva.

The Khanat of Khokan bounds closely on Russia. This mountainous region produces silk and cotton; and various grains, coals, and iron abound. Agriculture, pasturage, and rearing silk-worms, and mounting cottons, and embroidered silks. Russian goods find their way, to a considerable amount, to Khokan, the capital. It is said that this town has a population of one hundred and fifty thousand. It is, like Khiva, built of mud, with the exception of three stone bazaars. Russian caravans from the Siberian towns of Semipolatinsk on the banks of the Irtish, and from Petroparstok on the Ichim, are said to pass also through Khokan to the frontiers of China, with Russian merchandise. Mussulmans pay a duty of two and a-half per cent. on goods imported, and other importers five per cent.

The Khanat of Bokhara, or the country of the Usbeck Tartars, comprises about two hundred and thirty thousand square miles of Central Asia, and Burnes estimates its population at one million

of inhabitants. Other authorities estimate the Usbecks alone at one million five hundred thousand, and the other races at nearly one million. Many portions of this region are remarkably fertile, and agriculture is the principal source of occupation and subsistence. Wheat, barley, rice, maize, beans, melons, are all grown, with several other kinds of grain, vegetables, and fruits, sheep and goats; the latter yield the fine hair or wool scarcely inferior to Cashmeer,—the former the jet-black woolly skins used for Persian caps, &c.: about two hundred thousand skins are annually exported. Mutton is the chief animal food. Horses and oxen are reared; the flesh of the latter is only eaten by the poor. The manufacturing industry is unimportant; some embroidery, silk stuffs, shagreen, sabres, fire-arms, and articles of various metals and leather, are among the limited quantity of fabrics made. The capital, Bokhara, is described by Burnes as a town containing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants. It has massive buildings, three hundred and sixty mosques, three hundred schools, the Khan's palace, or rather fortress; houses built of bricks dried in the sun; very narrow and dirty streets; lofty arched bazaars, in which the different trades have their distinct sections; and ponds and fountains for the supply of water. The slave and gem markets are open only twice a-week; all others are open daily. Fruits and jellies of all kinds abound in the market, and plenty of ice is to be had during the hottest weather. Tea is the favourite beverage. There are numerous large baths. This mart, which is to Central Africa the great entrepôt, is described as presenting unceasing activity and noise. The caravans from and to Russia travel by the following routes; viz. by the route of Khiva, to the shores of and across the Caspian, from and to Astrakan; by the route to and from Orenburg, by land, in sixty days, through Orghenje in Khiva; to and from Trodiska, in Tobolsk, by the route east of the lake Aral, in forty-nine days; and to and from Petroparstok in ninety days. Of the whole number, two thousand, which leave India annually, about one thousand camels reach Bokhara with oriental goods; the remaining thousand stop in Affghanistaun, Cabūl, or diverge west into Persia.*

The population of Khiva is at least six hundred thousand. In this number there are forty thousand Persians, including

* Commercial Statistics, vol. ii. p. 637.

Kaffer Seeah-Poosh. The Russian slaves, who caused the war with Russia and Khiva, and which amounted to two hundred, have been sent to Russia by the advice of Sir. R. Shakespeare. Mr. Abbott, who preceded him, was foolish enough to advise the king of Khiva not to give up the Russian slaves until he had treated with the Russian emperor; but Shakespeare was wise enough to recommend their immediate cession. The Khan of Khiva is, as I think I have observed already, very anxious to make a strict alliance with England, and it seems that England encourages him, but, to speak the truth, it is not of the least use; for though the Khan of Khiva has, *perhaps*, not yet killed any Englishmen, I am sure that he is equally disposed, or rather more so, than the king of Bokhara. From all that I have heard of the Khan of Khiva, he is a horrid brute, and the atrocities committed by the Khan of Khiva exceed those of the king of Bokhara, and they are too debased to be described. I say, studiously, *perhaps* he has not killed any Englishman, for I am not at all certain that he has not killed several; for I have it on good authority that he has strangled several Europeans. But Colonel Sheil, to whom I mentioned the fact, told me that those Europeans, though Germans by birth, were Russian spies.

Besides that, what can England expect from the king of Khiva? Bokhara and Khiva are, like the Barbary States, slave-making states, and ought to be put down; and if England were to make an alliance with Khiva, Persia and Russia would be her enemies. The population of the city of Khokand is three hundred thousand, and the entire population is three millions. From the best sources, viz. the Kazi Kelaun, the Tatshick merchants, and other mullahs, we know that the population of the kingdom of Bokhara is one million two hundred thousand, of whom two hundred thousand are Persian slaves. The capital contains one hundred and eighty thousand. Horse-flesh is considered a delicacy: I received it repeatedly from the king's table, and the king eats it himself.

The manner of drinking tea in the Mogul fashion, is with milk, salt, grease, and cinnamon.

I subjoin, in this my fourth edition, the following brief notice on Balkh. This city lies six days' journey to the east of Bokhara. It is the Bactriana of old, and is now governed by a son of Ayshaan Khoja, who is only nominally subject to the king of Bokhara; but he would be the first who would open the gate to Sir Charles Napier, or to Dost Muhammed Khan, if they were to march towards Bokhara. It is believed that the apostle Thaddeus formerly preached the Gospel there. It is now destroyed in a most awful manner, and a fever called 'Gezel' is prevailing there, which depopulates the town more and more. The famous Nisam-Almulk was a great benefactor to that city, and the inhabitants mention his name with veneration. A great many derveeshes of the holy family of the Nakshbande are still there: they are enthusiastic admirers of the great poet Tshaamee. The eastern Christians assert that our blessed Lord commanded the apostles to confine their preaching the first twelve years among the Jews in Palestine, and then they went forth,—Peter to Antioch and Rome; Paul in Anatolia, Illyria, Arabia, Spain, England, and Rome. Andrew preached in Bokhara and Samarcand; John in Asia Minor; Philip at Kintaya and Broosa; Bartholomew in Armenia and Yemen; and after him, Pantaenos Thaddeus in Mesopotamia, and Matthew in Abyssinia.

The town of Bokhara is situated one day's journey to the north of the river Jehoon or Amoo; Ghengis Khan besieged it in 1219, and took it in 1220. Thousands of Jews emigrated at that time to China. The houses are mostly built of mud. The chief places for trade in the kingdom are Bokhara, Karshee, Karakol, Samarcand, and Karkee. There are immense numbers of shops, in which chiefly Russian goods are sold, full three hundred merchants, from Shikarpore, in Sinde, and other parts of Hindūstaun; but the chief trade is

carried on with Russia. Mighty caravans arrive from and go to Orenbourg and Siberia, transported by the Kirghese.

It is very remarkable that the prophet Ezekiel, in the twenty-seventh chapter, fourteenth verse, gives an exact description of the trade carried on by the Tūrkomauns with the inhabitants of Bokhara, Khiva, and Khokand. The Prophet says: "They of the house of Togarmah (*i. e.* the Tūrkomauns) traded in thy fairs with horses and horsemen, and mules." The Tūrkomauns to this day, like the Swiss guards, are mercenaries, and let themselves out for a few tengas a day. It is also remarkable, that I frequently heard the Tūrkomauns call themselves Toghramah, and the Jews call them Togarmah.

Viewing the host of camels coming with merchandise from Cashmeer, Cabūl, Khokand, Khetay, and Orenbourg, the passage of Isaiah lx. 6, comes forcibly on the mind, where the Prophet says: "The multitude of camels shall cover thee, the dromedaries of Midian and Ephah; all they from Sheba shall come: they shall bring gold and incense." Mentioning gold, I must not forget, that near Samarcand there are gold mines and turquoises. And the king of Bokhara wanted to know whether there are turquoises to be found in England.

The articles which are brought from Bokhara to Russia are dry fruit, silks, indigo, and caps. The articles brought from Russia, calicoes, muslins, &c. The merchants from Bokhara transport also to Russia goods from Khokand, Tashkand, and Tūrkistaun.

Among the chief dignitaries of the state may be numbered:

The *Goosh-Bekee*, or Keeper of the Seal. This situation is now vacant, since the late Goosh-Bekee, an excellent man, was killed by order of the present Ameer, though he was chiefly indebted to him, as we have shown, for his accession to the throne. He was not only the Vizier, but also the chief of the Custom-house; but this situation is now vested in the Dastar Khanjee, who carries a gold hatchet, and brings the victuals to the king. The person who occupies at present this situation is a man of the most licentious character.

Shekhawl, Minister for Foreign affairs.

Moonshee Bashi, chief Secretary of State.

Makhrams, Chamberlains, who are not only the spies, but also the ruffians of the king. They came almost every day swaggering into my room, accompanied by a Mirza (secretary), telling me, in an authoritative and vulgar overbearing manner, "Hasrat (his Majesty) wants several questions to be answered by you."

The dignitaries of the Muhammedan religion:

1. *Sheikh al-Islam*, chief of the Ulemas.

2. *Nakeeb*, who decides the disputes between the soldiers.

3. *Kazi Kelaun*, who settles the disputes between the Fukarra, *i. e.* subjects.

4. *Reis*, Minister of public Worship—Superintendent of the morals of the place; he does not allow smoking, and gets people bastinadoed if they neglect going to the mosque.

5. *Meer Shab*, Director of the Night, who announces, with a sound resembling a loud drum, that people are not allowed to stir about in the night-time.

These are the chief authorities; beside others, as in different Muhammedan countries.

CHAPTER XX.

Departure from Bokhara. Dr. Wolff discovers a Plot to kill and rob him, *en route*—Thousands attend to witness their departure. Dr. Wolff refuses to separate from Abbas Kouli Khan. Arrival at Jesman-Doo—Vile Conduct of Muhammed Taki—Abbas Kouli Khan expresses his Displeasure. Derveesh of Yarkand—Conversation with him. Affghaun Seyd—Conversation with him. The Calmucks—their singular Conduct. Remarkable fine sense of Smelling and Hearing in Türkomauns. Appearance of Usbecks. Conversation with Abbas Kouli Khan—he thinks Abdul Samut Khan was the Murderer of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Visit from a Mullah—his Account of Timur—Memoir of Timur—Shahr Sabz. *Route:* Jesman-Doo—Shahr Islam. History of Afrasiab. Reports of Guzl-Bash about the English. Mortesa and Abdullah advise Dr. Wolff to leave Abbas Kouli Khan—he refuses. Peikand—Karakol—The Governor of Karakol warns Dr. Wolff that a Plot is laid to take away his life. Hussein. *Route:* Allat—The Caravan lose their way. An attempt made by Ismael and Mortesa to seize Dr. Wolff—he calls on the Merchants of the Caravan to protect him. Sayen. Dr. Wolff wishes to throw away the Money in the Desert—Abbas Kouli Khan takes it in his keeping.

We set out from Bokhara on the 3rd of August, and arrived one farsagh from Bokhara, at the village called Jesman-Doo, where we halted for a time in a garden on the border of a tank. The party consisted of Abbas Kouli Khan; Dil Assa Khan; Ameer Sarog; Kaher Kouli; Sabhan Ullah Beyk, ambassador of the king of Bokhara to the king of Persia; Ameer Abool Kasem, ambassador to Queen Victoria; Haje Ismael, from Yarkand; four Persian slaves, whom I caused to escape; one thousand slaves, who had bought their liberty; the murderers hired by Abdul Samut Khan; merchants from Cabūl; derveeshes and fakeers from Hindūstaun; Mirza Abdul Wahab, who painted for me portraits when at Bokhara,

and who wrote a narrative of my sufferings,—in all full two thousand camels.

Previous to quitting Bokhara, I discovered that the Nayeb had agreed with Abdullah, Dil Assa Khan, Ismael Khan, Mortesa, Ameer Sarog, and Kaher Kouli, that they should kill me, and take from me the three thousand tillahs, as he thought he could get with ease the six thousand tillahs by presenting my note of hand to Colonel Sheil; and beside this, the three thousand tillahs of interest at twenty per cent. which he gave Conolly, and which he took back after his death. I was informed of this plot by the Jews, Mullahs Meshiakh, Pinehas, and Simkha, by the servants of the Grand Kazi, and even those of the Nayeb. Abdullah confessed it at Meshed, and Abbas Kouli Khan had received similar information.

On our leaving Bokhara, thousands of people came forth, Jews and Usbecks, Türkomauns and Persians, and the streets resounded with the exclamation, "God preserve the Ameer, that he has sent you away!" A veiled woman stood in the street; she wept and exclaimed, "What joy your wife will have! How will she sing you have been *born again!* Such a favour has not been shown for a long time by the Padishah."

The conspirators, Mortesa and Abdullah, tried to persuade me to separate from Abbas Kouli Khan, but I refused. I said, "I know your villany; I shall always ride in the train of Abbas Kouli Khan."

We thus proceeded, by order of the king, to Jesman-Doo. Muhammed Taki, the astrologer from Heraut, who came with Abbas Kouli Khan from Persia for the purpose of getting, by the Shah's influence with the Ameer, his wife, who had been made a slave of by the Türkomauns, both recovered her, and, besides this, received one hundred ducats from the Ameer. When he came to the garden of Jesman-Doo, to our surprise without his wife, Abbas Kouli Khan asked him, "Where is your wife?" He replied, "I have looked in the stars for two or three nights successively, and seen one star with a black

tail, from which I perceive that misery is *entailed* upon her; and therefore I have resold her for forty ducats and a beautiful high-bosomed slave girl, only seventeen." I never saw in my life a man so incensed as Abbas Kouli Khan. He rose from the ground, cast away his galyoon with such violence that it broke to pieces, and said, "God burn you and your stars! You rascal, you did not look on the stars, but on the money and the beauty of the young girl. I spit in your beard." The astrologer went out quite mortified.

Soon after, a derveesh of Yarkand entered the garden. He was of that class of derveeshes called the Bektash, who pretend to have attained to such a degree of knowledge, that no divine revelation is of any use to them, nor any book. He asked me, "How do you prove the necessity of religion?" I replied, that all nations were forced to confess that religion is the only support to our weak nature; and that knowledge, which has only for its object terrestrial things, is unworthy of the name of knowledge. But in order to arrive at a knowledge of heavenly things, a heavenly mind is required. There is a spiritual sense in the heart, which I call a revelation of God to the heart; and therefore God will disappear from those who seek him only with their intellect. This is the case with you Bektash, and many European philosophers. The revelations of God, as laid down in our sacred books, may be considered as wings, by which men are able to soar up to heaven. Only by a steady looking on divine revelation is human nature able to progress towards heaven. Nothing is so terrible and awful to man, as when God disappears from human reason; I mean, when we seek truth independent of its Author.

An Affghaun Seyd entered the garden, and said, "Ay, you Kafir! have you succeeded in cheating the Ameer, so that he let you go? If he had only given you into my hands, I would soon have made away with you by my javelin." Abbas Kouli Khan said to him, "Go, and leave the Frankee alone; he is a derveesh." "A derveesh?" he sneeringly replied; "I know

these Frankee derveeshes,—I know these English derveeshes. They go into a country, spy out mountains and valleys, seas and rivers; find out a convenient adit, and then go home, inform a gentleman there—a chief, who has the name of *Company*, who sends soldiers, and then takes a country. Tell him what I say." After this he left the garden.

Some Calmucks, likewise, purposely called on me. They are also called the Eliad. They said, "We come to see the renowned Frankee derveesh." They are of a yellow colour; they sat down, looked at me, and made remarks on every movement of my body, which amused Abbas Kouli Khan so much, that he laughed incessantly. After they had examined me from head to foot, he advised me to allow them to pursue still closer investigations, which I declined.

Like the Hazārah, they had scarcely any beard. At last, one of them turned to a Jew, and asked him, in a low tone, to give him brandy and wine. They addressed me in Russian. I told them in Persian, that I did not understand Russian, and asked them where they had learned it. They replied, "From the Nogay Tatars." Then they began: "Have you heard of Nicholas Paulowitch? He is the greatest Krawl Russia has ever enjoyed." They asked me whether we had many slaves in England? I told them that slavery was prohibited.

My rascally servant, Abdullah, expressed a wish to go from Jesman-Doo again to see Abdul Samut Khan, but Abbas Kouli Khan prevented him.

An extraordinary power of smelling in a Tūrkomaun, Khan Saat from Sarakhs, was indicated to me here. He said, drawing up his nostrils, "I smell a caravan of Usbecks;" and in a few hours a caravan from Organtsh arrived full of them. It is remarkable how the Tūrkomauns know, by the footsteps in the desert, the person who has been there,—nay, the very tribe of Tūrkomauns that has passed. When Tūrkomauns or Calmucks saw people talking from a distance, I frequently

heard them say, "Let us draw our ears." They then lie down on the ground, and hear from a distance what even two persons whisper together, and relate the exact conversation.

Another party of derveeshes came to me and observed, "The time will come when there shall be no difference between rich and poor, between high and low, when property shall be in common,—even wives and children."

Suddenly we were alarmed by Usbecks coming in great consternation. I was afraid that an order had been issued to fetch me back by the Ameer; but they reported that news had arrived from Tsheesakh, a city beyond Samarcand, that Sheer Ali Khan, the present king of Khokand, had made an alliance with the Girghese and Kasaks, and had even invited the Russians to come through Khokand; and Sheer Ali Khan was seriously contemplating a march against Bokhara to avenge the death of Muhammed Ali Khan.

Abbas Kouli Khan, my friend, spoke to me at Jesman-Doo about the villany of Abdul Samut Khan, and said there was not the least shadow of doubt that Abdul Samut Khan was the murderer of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, and other Europeans; but he, Abbas Kouli Khan, should be sorry if Abdul Samut Khan were put to death by the Ameer, for he might, after all, be of service one day to Persia, on a contemplated attack on the part of Persia on Bokhara; for, as Abbas Kouli Khan expressed himself, "A fellow like Abdul Samut Khan (may his father be burned!) is capable of turning against the Ameer when he sees it will be to his advantage, and of putting him to death with as much facility as he did Stoddart and Conolly."

We then had a visit of a mullah from Bokhara, who asked me whether Timur was much spoken of in England. I replied in the affirmative. He then asked me whether they knew of his daughter Agabeyk, and of his sister Tūrkan-Khatoon, and his only son Jehaan-Geer. The death of these people, he said, made Timur weep, who had a heart of iron, and never wept

before. They are buried at Shahr Sabz. Thus far the mullah.

Timur, *iron*, was the prophetic name of the son of Tharaghays, whose ancestor descended from the tribe of Berlas, the Grand-vizier of Tshagatay, Ghengis Khan's son. Timur was born on the very day when, by the death of Aboo Sayd Behadur Khan, the dynasty of Ghengis Khan ended, in the year 1335. The Persian historians say of him, that he was not only a world-conqueror, but also a world-holder. Though Alexander the Great was more humane, he is evidently inferior to Timur as a conqueror; for Timur's conquests did not only comprise more countries than Alexander's, but he preserved a greater extent of country under subjection; and beside that, Timur fought, not like Alexander with effeminate nations, but with brave and warlike people; beside that, Timur was not given to vice, and also, not having been the son of a king, was the creator of his own power.

At the siege of the capital of Sistan he was wounded in one of his legs, which made him lame, whence he was called *Timur-Lank*,—Tamerlane. He was of great stature, of an extraordinary large head, open forehead, of a beautiful red and white complexion, and with long hair,—white from his birth, like *Zal*, the renowned hero of Persian history. In his ears he wore two diamonds of great value. He was of a serious and gloomy expression of countenance, an enemy to every joke or jest, but especially to falsehood, which he hated to such a degree, that he preferred a disagreeable truth to an agreeable lie,—in this respect far different from the character of Alexander, who put to death Clitus, his friend and companion in arms, as well as the philosopher Callisthenes, for uttering disagreeable truths to him. Timur never relinquished his purpose or countermanded his order; never regretted the past, nor rejoiced in the anticipation of the future; he neither loved poets nor buffoons, but physicians, astronomers, and lawyers, whom he frequently desired to carry on discussions

in his presence; but most particularly he loved those derveeshes whose fame of sanctity paved his way to victory by their blessing. He was a great lover of chess, in which he excelled; and from the famous move, 'Castling the king,' his beloved son received the name 'Shah Rook,' which means '*king and castle.*' His most darling books were histories of war, and biographies of warriors and other celebrated men. His learning was confined to the knowledge of reading and writing, but he had such a retentive memory, that whatever he read or heard once he never forgot. He was only acquainted with three languages,—the Turkish, Persian, and Mongolian. The Arabic was foreign to him. He preferred the *Tora* of Ghengis Khan to the *Koran;* so that the Ulemas found it necessary to issue a *Fetwa,* by which they declared those to be infidels who preferred human laws to the divine. He completed Ghengis Khan's *Tora* by his own code, called *Tufukat,* which comprised the degrees and ranks of his officers. Without the philosophy of Antoninus, or the pedantry of Constantine, his laws exhibit a deep knowledge of military art and political science. Such principles were imitated successfully by his successors, Shah Baber and the great Shah Akbar, in Hindūstaun. The power of his civil as well as military government consisted in a deep knowledge of other countries, which he acquired by his interviews with travellers and derveeshes, so that he was fully acquainted with all the plans, manœuvres, and political movements of foreign courts and armies. He himself despatched travellers to various parts, who were ordered to lay before him the maps and descriptions of foreign countries.

The love and attachment of the army to Timur was so great and so unlimited, that they would forego plunder in time of need, if ordered by him; and their subjection to him was so blind and unconditional, that it would only have cost him an *order,* to cause himself to be proclaimed, not only as Emperor, but even as Prophet of the Tatars. He endeavour-

ed to soften the inclination to cruelty of his soldiers, composed of so many nations, by poets and learned men, by musicians and sooffees, who came in swarms to the army, and wandered with him through Asia. Timur's youth passed away in learning the art of war, in hunting and foray. He was twenty-seven years of age when he rendered the first and most important services to the Ameer Hussein, the prince of the house Tshagatay, who resided at that time at Balkh and Heraut, in his war against Timurtogluk Khan, the lord of Tūrkistaun, who at the head of Tsheets and Gheets destroyed the countries on both sides of the Oxus.

The hand of the Princess Turkan-Khan, Hussein's sister, was the reward of Timur's heroism and valour; but she died four years after her marriage, when Timur declared himself rebel against Hussein, who was killed by the people of Balkh. Timur ascended the throne of Khorassaun, and made prisoners of the eight widows of Hussein, two of whom he married himself, and the six others to his friends. He destroyed Balkh and decapitated the inhabitants; women and children were made slaves, as a prelude of the great tragedies of future conquests. Timur chose then Samarcand as the place of his residence, which he fortified with walls, and embellished with gardens and palaces. The assembly of Tatars (Kuriltay) proclaimed the conqueror as Emperor of the vacant throne. The derveesh Barakat, the Samuel of the Tatars, who had predicted to him the throne, invested him with the insignia of the empire, and delivered to him the standard and drum, and added to his name 'Timur,' the titles of Kurikan, *i. e.* 'great ruler,' Szhael Keran, 'lord of the age,' and Jehaan-Geer, 'conqueror of the world.' Does this not seem to be an imitation of Isaiah ix. 6? He justified amply the truth of those titles in the thirty-six years of his government. The motto of his seal, now in the hands of the king of Bokhara, was *Hakan-Adalat.* The observation of the Jews, previously stated in this work about Timur and Ghengis Khan, are

highly probable. During the four times nine years of his government, he returned nine times to Samarcand, in order to refresh his troops and to prepare them for new adventures. He united upon his head the crowns of three times nine countries, which belonged to nine dynasties, whose fate was in the hands of the conqueror. These were, 1st. the dynasty of the Tshagatay, upon whose throne he was elevated after Hussein's death: 2nd. the dynasty of the Tsheets and Gheets in Türkistaun and Moghulistaun: 3rd. the dynasty of Kharasm; 4th. of Khorassaun; 5th. of the Tatars in Tataristaun and Dasht Kiptshak; 6th. the dynasty of the sons of Mosaffir, in the Persian Irak: 7th. the dynasty of the Eelkhan, in Arabian Irak; 8th. of the Seljucks; 9th. of the Osmans, towards the east to the wall of China, towards the north to the heart of Russia, to the west towards the shores of the Mediterranean; towards the south his conquests were extended to the frontiers of Egypt, where he ruled with iron over his *age and the world.* Several of these empires he subdued in one battle, but most of them after persevering and repeated conflicts for several years; he led his army seven times against the Gheets, and five times against Khiva: he subdued Hindüstaun in one campaign; and in his last expedition to Asia Minor Bayazid's fate was decided, which war lasted seven years.

After the first campaign against the king of Khiva, Timur demanded by an embassy his daughter Khan-Sadah, as a wife for his eldest son Jehaan-Geer; and Hussein Sooffee made such preparation as surpassed the splendour of the celebrated marriage-feasts of the great khaleefs Mamoon and Mootedhad, sons of Haroun Rashid. The bride's outfit consisted of rich crowns, of golden thrones, of precious armlets and ear-rings, of girdles of diamonds and pearls, of beds, tents, and palanquins. As a welcome, the grandees of the empire threw over the head of the bride gold pieces and pearls, the air was filled with the odour of Ambra, the ground was covered with carpets and gold; throughout all the towns which they passed, the

Sheikhs and Cadis, the Imaums and Mullahs came out to meet them, and all these festivities were doubled at their arrival in Samarcand. The tent in which the espousal took place, represented in its interior the dome of heaven, covered with stars and sown with diamonds. Shawls, clothes, and stuffs were distributed among the guests, and in the nuptial chamber the astronomers placed the horoscope of the happy and lucky moment of the espousal.

With less pomp, Timur celebrated his own espousal with the Princess Dil-Shad-Aga, daughter of the Sultan of the Tsheets, after he had made her captive in the second campaign with her father. Beside the above-mentioned wives, he married, after Turkan's death, the Princess Tuman-Aga, daughter of the Ameer Moosa, on whose account he united the twelve royal gardens of Samarcand into one, and called it Baghee-Behesht, garden of paradise. But no alliance by marriage was able to save either the Sultan of the Tsheets, or the king of Kharasm or Khiva. The latter, after he had violated the rights of nations by imprisoning Timur's ambassadors, was besieged, in the last campaign, for the space of three months and a half in his capital. At the foot of the walls Timur challenged the father-in-law of his son to a duel, which he did not accept. The city was taken by storm and plundered, all the sheikhs, learned men, artists, and mechanics were banished to Shahr Sabz,—Timur's place of nativity.

With all his cruelty, Timur was an exemplary father, and a tender husband. After the death of his favourite son Jehaan-Geer, and his favourite wife Turkan-Khan, he was heard frequently exclaiming with lifted up eyes the words of the Koran: "We are of God, and to God we shall return;" and pious derveeshes were sitting in his room, reading to him passages of the Koran, or legends from the Sunna.

After the conquest of Kharasm, Timur laid aside the mask, and announced his intention of assuming universal dominion

He frequently cited the words of the poet,—"As there is one God *in heaven*, there ought to be one Ruler *upon earth*," and that the earth, with all the empires it contains, was not adequate to satisfy the ambition of a great prince. Lord of Tooran, *i. e.* of the countries on that side the Oxus, he desired also to possess Iraun, *i. e.* the countries on this side the Oxus, *i. e.* Persia.

Khorassaun was at that time divided between two princes. Ghayaz-Udeen Peer Ali governed at Heraut; at Sabz-Awar, Khodja Ali Mujeed, of the dynasty of Ghengis Khan. The lord of the Sabz-Awar submitted to Timur, and became his vassal, and accompanied him in his marches; but the lord of Heraut offered resistance. When Timur came to Ankud, a pious derveesh, a fool, threw a goat's head at Timur's head, which the conqueror considered to be a favourable omen. He conquered Heraut with all its treasures: the city escaped destruction, but its iron gates were brought to Shahr Sabz, as in former times Samson and Ali took away the gates of the cities. The cities of Nishapoor, Sabz-Awar, and Toos, *i. e.* Meshed, surrendered peaceably. Meshed is celebrated on account of its being the place of burial of Resa, the eighth of the Imaums of Haroun Rashid, and of the most blood-thirsty of all the conquerors, Aboo-Moslem, whose arm deprived the family of Ummaya of the throne of the khaleefs, and transmitted it to that of Abbas. It is also the burial-place of the great vizier, the greatest mathematician, and the greatest poet of Persia,—Nisam-Almulk, Naser-Uddeen, and Firdousi. Timur passed over with profound indifference the sepulchre of the Imaum, with that of the astronomer and the poet, and performed his devotion at the tomb of Aboo-Moslem, by whose sword a million of men lost their lives, and who made numberless widows and orphans. Timur dismounted from his horse, and besought Allah at the tomb of the hero for a blessing on his high enterprise. A derveesh stared at Timur,

and said to him, "The *bloody shadow* of Aboo-Moslem is hovering over thy head, oh, thou man of blood!" A revolution soon broke out at Sabz-Awar, which he quenched by a massacre of all its inhabitants, and he built a tower with the skulls of the slain.

After the conquest of Khorassaun, he marched towards Sistan and Sabulistaun. The shadow of Rustam appeared to him, and significantly said, "Timur, desist!" but in vain. He was wounded, his army was frightened, when he addressed them, "Soldiers, should our descendants say, Our ancestors were frightened by a phantom?" He became the conqueror of Sistan, Sabulistaun, and Sinde, where in our time the Pooloj and Türkomauns say, "A *Frankee*, an *Englishman*, has trod in the footsteps of Timur, and the name of that English giant, as the Türkomauns call him, is SIR CHARLES NAPIER, *conqueror and governor of Sinde*." As Sir Charles Napier is, in Türkistaun and Bokhara, compared with Rustam of old, so also have I heard a late minister of her Majesty, in Turkey and Persia, compared with Malek Shah, the greatest of all viziers, the opposer of the assassins,—and this minister is LORD PALMERSTON.

I then got the following information about Shahr Sabz. It is a central city of Bokhara, but separated from the king, independent, and governed by its own Khan. The reason of it is this: 1st. The people of Shahr Sabz are by far better and more courageous horsemen than the people of Bokhara. 2nd. They can put in a moment the whole town under water, so that troops cannot reach them. 3rd. It serves for the people of Bokhara as an asylum from the tyranny of the Ameer, and therefore the people of Bokhara do not wish to take it. The Khan of Shahr Sabz, however, for form's sake, sent to the Ameer one thousand horsemen, as a subsidy in his war against Khiva and Khokand; but they were always ordered by the Khan of Shahr Sabz not to give him the least assistance in reality.

From Jesman-Doo we proceeded to Shahr-Islam, the city of Afrasiab.

As the name of Afrasiab is not familiar to the generality of English readers,—nay, does not meet even with insertion in very extensive biographical works, we shall subjoin the following particulars of that sovereign. He was the ninth king of the Peshdadian dynasty of Persia, and by birth a Tūrkomaun. He descended from Feridun, who had a rebellious son, named Tur, and sought, like Absalom of old, with whom some think he was contemporary, the kingdom of his father. Frustrated in his plots against his father, he fled to Tatary, where he became a king. Tur had a son named Peshang, from whom (though this point is not quite clear) Afrasiab descended. Ancient Persian authors make him out a descendant, in some way, from this Tur, who died in battle against the Persian monarch Minuchihr, the direct descendant in the male branch from Feridun. The incursions of Afrasiab and his Tatars, during the reign of Peshang, compelled the Persian king, Minuchihr, to sue for peace, which was granted, the Oxus being the boundary of the two empires. Minuchihr was succeeded by Naudar, an unpopular sovereign, against whom Afrasiab waged successful war. Afrasiab avenged on him his grandsire's wrong, or what he supposed such; and Afrasiab killed with his own hand the Persian king, Naudar. Afrasiab became king of Persia, and ruled it, like Timur, with a rod of iron. The hero, Zal, the glory of Persia, rose against the tyrant: he defeated Afrasiab, refused the proffered throne himself, and raised the legitimate branch to its lost seat. Afrasiab strove undaunted to recover Persia during various reigns; but at length a Persian king arose strong enough to carry the war home to the Tūrkomaun himself. Kai Khosro, after a severe battle, seized on the palace of Afrasiab, ultimately on the Tūrkomaun chief himself, and put him to death. Afrasiab's name being the most famous of an olden dynasty, represents any thing very aged in Persian annals. Afrasiab has been

thought of as high an antiquity as even the king of the Deeves and Afrits,—Solomon himself. We ought to except from the above censure the *Biographical Dictionary** published by Messrs. Longman; and we can refer our readers for further particulars to Firdousi, and Sir John Malcolm's work on Persia.

At Shahr-Islam people from Cabūl crowded around me; they were mostly Guzl-Bash. They said that the English had made themselves enemies by various things. 1st. That they did not protect the Guzl-Bash. 2nd. That they offended Nawaub Jabar Khan, brother to Dost Muhammed Khan, their friend; and 3rd, as I have already stated, By the customs they introduced.

Mortesa and Abdullah, the conspirators against my life, came up to me and said, that the bustle on leaving Bokhara was so great, that I should do better to quit Abbas Kouli Khan, and pitch my tent at a considerable distance from him; and, besides that, that as an English Eljee (for thus they call all the English), I was a greater man than either Abbas Kouli Khan or any one else of the caravan, and therefore I should keep aloof from them. I told them, "I know your villany; you have not to prescribe to me where I am to pitch my tent. I shall ride with Abbas Kouli Khan."

At Shahr-Islam I observed that the trunks in which the three thousand tillahs lay were somewhat broken. After passing Peikand, therefore, and arriving at Karakol, I bought strong cloth, and Mirza Abdul Wahab, a Persian artist, and also Haje Ismael from Yarkand, assisted me in folding them up carefully. And that I might not be obliged to trust the trunks to Mortesa, the chief of the Kafila (caravan), I bought a mule at Karakol, in order that I might have the money always under my own eyes. We stopped at Karakol two

* We regret to learn that this work is discontinued. With a little more care and morality in some of its articles, it would have filled up what is yet a *desideratum* in English literature,—a good Biographical dictionary.

days, in the house of Shaker Beyk,—a house which belonged to the king. Hussein Khan, the governor of Karakol, had sent a confidential servant to me, through whom he apologized for not waiting on me: though, as he expressed himself, "his heart and soul was bound up with my heart and soul thirteen years ago at Karakol." He informed me that I was, on my route to Meshed, in as great danger as at Bokhara; for Abdul Samut Khan, ever thirsting for blood, and the greatest scourge which Bokhara had ever seen, had hired assassins to put me to death in the desert; and these assassins were my servant Abdullah, Mortesa (the Kafila Bashi), Ibrahim Abbas, Dil Assa Khan, Ismael, Rahim Beyk, and others. He advised me, therefore, to employ the four Persian slaves who had succeeded in leaving Bokhara with me, with which fact he was acquainted, as they acknowledged it to him, as sentinels against the murderers; and also, that I should not quit Abbas Kouli Khan's side. I must here observe, that I had committed at Bokhara a great mistake by dismissing Hussein; for though a sad rogue, he had still a species of affection for me, since he had accompanied me from Meshed to Cabūl in the year 1832, and was a check on Abdullah, who was a perfect concentration of all the rascality of the East,—always drunk with opium, and intriguing; from which latter defect Hussein was not wholly free, of which point I give the following illustration. There are scorpions at Bokhara, and a person who lived near me at Bokhara was stung by one of them. Hussein pretended to cure diseases by saying *Duas*, 'charms,' and was called in to the case,—I do not know with what success; but immediately after he had said his *dua*, he went to the mosque, and intrigued with a woman, for which he got a tremendous thrashing.

On my arrival at Allat, I observed that Ameer Sarog, Abdullah, and the rest of the hired assassins, were around my mule when we had pitched our tent. The day following, when I wanted to load it with my trunks, I found that it was lame.

I therefore informed Abbas Kouli Khan of this circumstance. He ordered that the mule should in future be dragged on with his mules, and that during the night-time my trunks should be watched by one of his servants placed at my disposal. Haje Ismael, of Yarkand, perceiving the design of the villains, slept in my tent. The four slaves, whom I saved, watched them; Abdullah and Mortesa therefore began to quarrel with both Abbas Kouli Khan's servant and Haje Ismael.

We marched then towards Jehaar-Joo. It was night. The whole of the caravan lost their way. Abbas Kouli Khan, who most kindly held the ropes of my horse in order not to lose sight of me, consigned me to the care of his brother, Nujuf Kouli Khan, in order that he himself might look out for the road. Then Ismael and Mortesa tried to push him away, when I loudly exclaimed in Persian, "Will you commit treachery?" This exclamation made the principal persons of the caravan rally round me. I pointed out to them Ismael and Mortesa, who then retired. Towards daylight Abdullah came up to me, and said to Nujuf Kouli Khan and myself, that Abbas Kouli Khan had ordered that I should remain behind, and await his return. We observed that this was a lie. We traced the footsteps of Abbas Kouli Khan's horse, and soon found him. He was anxiously expecting me. Abdullah then began to sell the greater part of my victuals to the ransomed slaves. We arrived at Sayen, and stopped in the house of an Ak-Sakal, 'lord of the beard,' a chief. Abbas Kouli Khan sent me victuals of his own, for he heard himself that the assassins intended to poison me. It must be observed here, that at Sayen the mighty conqueror, Hullakoo Khan, whose name is still in the mouth of every Usbeck child, encamped with his army.

Perceiving that I was continually harassed about the money, I said to Abbas Kouli Khan, "I will open my trunks, and pour out the money in the open desert, in order that the villains may be satisfied." Abbas Kouli Khan replied, "Give

me the money." He gave it into the hands of Ali Akbar, his treasurer, and made the people believe that he had sent the money on to Meshed, sealed up, by a Tūrkomaun. It is a remarkable fact, that though the Tūrkomauns are great robbers, they are entrusted by merchants with money, which they safely convey to the owner, provided it be sealed. The assassins soon felt that my trunk was no longer so heavy. This made some of them desist from annoying me, but Abdullah, in whose horrid countenance one could perceive that he was a murderer, and who did not blush to say that he had murdered two people, and who was particularly charged by Abdul Samut Khan to take away my life, as he confessed at Meshed, did not cease from continually annoying me. The four slaves whom I supported, and Haje Ismael, told me that he continually observed, "I shall kill this Kafir by irritating him." One day, when I was exceedingly hot, I took off my gown and gave it to Abdullah. He rode away from me with it, and sold it to Kaher Kouli, and said he had lost it.

CHAPTER XXI.

Arrival at Jehaar-Joo. Abbas Kouli Khan calls on the Caravan to protect Dr. Wolff. Bokhara Ambassador demands Money from Dr. Wolff. Rafitak. Bokharese Horsemen from the Ameer demand Tribute—Dr. Wolff disconsolate. Arrival at Ujaaje. Mowr—Caravan declared Prisoners. Ameer of Bokhara orders the Türkomauns to release the Caravan; they refuse to obey—Their Khaleefa threatens to leave them if they injure the Caravan; they obey him. Conversation of Derveesh; of a Türkomaun. A Derveesh tells the Story of Scanderbeg—Fakeers. Sultan Sanjaar. The Khaleefa speaks of Ghengis Khan—Khaleefa's Son speaks ill of the Assaff-ood-Dowla—Tribe of Salor best of the Türkomauns. Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli lay a plot to murder Dr. Wolff; the Khaleefa frustrates it. Jews aid the Khivites against Bokhara—Joseph of Talkhtoon—Türkomaun Tales of Sultan Sanjaar. Türkomauns, in despite of Treaty, kill the Messenger of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The Khaleefa's Conversation the night of his departure with Dr. Wolff.

On our arrival at Jehaar-Joo I learnt that Ismael, Dil Assa Khan's man, Kaher Kouli, Rahim Beyk, and Ameer Sarog, with some others, would come in a body, demand money, and, if I did not give it them, would put me to death. I made Abbas Kouli Khan acquainted with this project. He summoned the conspirators before him, and the principal people of the caravan, and addressed them in the following words: "The Englishman that I have under my care purposes to escape to Khiva, for these people intend to murder him. He who is a good Mussulman will join me to protect him from the hand of every rascal." The principal people replied, "We will burn the father of the first rascal that touches him." I pointed out to them the assassins: they protested against having any such intention.

It was awful in the night-time to hear from the tower of Jehaar-Joo the voice exclaiming, "Watch, watch! for the people of Organtsh may come, kill your cattle, and destroy the child in the mother's womb." The governor of Jehaar-Joo sent, by order of the Ameer of Bokhara, fifty men on horseback to dig for water at Rafitak, that we might not experience any drought, for the people of Merwe had filled up the wells, that the people of Khiva might find no water. During our stay at Jehaar-Joo, Ameer Abul Kasem, the ambassador for Queen Victoria in the place of Ak Muhammed, who was the first nominated to the office, incessantly annoyed me with requests for money; for he said Abdul Samut Khan had himself stated to the king that he had given me three thousand tillahs for the expenses of his ambassador to England. I gave him, therefore, some money, and after the horsemen had returned from clearing the wells at Rafitak we left Jehaar-Joo.

We rode two nights and two days without ceasing, from fear of the Khivites. The agonies I sustained on horseback I cannot describe; for I felt that the fall from the horse at Bokhara had produced internal injuries. The nearer we came to Rafitak, the greater was the consternation of the whole caravan, on account of the reports that reached us that the king of Khiva was approaching, and Rafitak is a rallying point of the Khivites. I confess that I should have been glad had they arrived, for they profess a friendship for the English, had not the following circumstance damped my desire. Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, both Türkomauns, gave me candidly to understand, that the moment the people of Khiva approached the camp of Rafitak, they would put me to death, and escape with all that I had left in my trunk.

At our arrival at Rafitak we were obliged, in spite of the danger, to remain there two days, for horses, mules, camels, and men were too tired to proceed immediately. On the very day of our starting again we perceived horsemen from a

distance approaching, and a cry from all sides was heard, "Organtshee, Organtshee!" The Khivites are thus called by the people of Bokhara. Neither Ameer Sarog nor Kaher Kouli thought of killing me: I stood fast by Abbas Kouli Khan, who gave orders for fighting, while Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli ran off like whipped hounds; but Abdullah, my servant, mounted a horse, and rode towards the horsemen, with the intention, which he afterwards confessed at Meshed, to inform them that a Russian Kasak was among the people in the caravan; and also Abbas Kouli Khan, an ambassador from Persia to Bokhara, and an enemy of the king of Khiva. But on the approach of the horsemen we perceived that they were Bokharese horsemen, sent by the Ameer, demanding two ducats for every free-bought slave who had crossed the Oxus; for this, they said, was an ancient custom. Abbas Kouli Khan wrote his protest against this to the king of Bokhara.

We continued our journey. My mind was so harassed, and the pain of my internal injury so great, that I began to weep, and said, "O God, I know that I shall not return to England to see my wife and my child." To my great astonishment I saw that horrid fellow Abdullah also weeping. A derveesh came up to me and sung the following words, from the famous book called *Masnawee:*

Ham Khoda Khahe, Ham Donyae Dun,
Een Khyal ast, een Mohal ast, een Jenoon.
His fancy's wild, his mind distraught,
Who casts on God and Earth his thought.

We arrived at Ujaaje, near a river, when the Türkomauns conspired to stop us, which was prevented by some of the tribe of Tekka. Here it was where Hullakoo fought a battle against one of the kings of the Kharasms, or Organtsh, and defeated him completely.

Thence we arrived at Mowr. The noble Khaleefa received me most hospitably: his sons, however, imitate ill their noble father. We were all (the entire caravan, Abbas Kouli Khan

included,) declared prisoners by the Tūrkomauns, until the slaves who had already purchased their freedom should pay nineteen thousand ducats to them. A messenger was immediately despatched to Bokhara by night, and an order soon after arrived from the Ameer, under whose protection the Tūrkomauns of Mowr have placed themselves, that we should be permitted to depart immediately, and without molestation. The Tūrkomauns then declared they would not obey the Ameer; on which the Khaleefa replied, "If you do not obey, I shall leave Mowr and settle myself at Heraut, and give you my curse." This had the effect required; but they conspired still to smite the caravan with the sword on the road, and they compelled me to pay for the merchandise on eight camels sent by the Nayeb to his brother, Haje Ibrahim, at Meshed, for they said, "Abdul Samut Khan is the king's right hand."

While at Mowr, a derveesh, who came from Samarcand, related one evening to the people of the caravan, all seated on the ground, the deeds of Timur, also called Tamerlane,—how he built at Sabz-Awar a tower of the skulls of men; of his defeating Bayazid; of his entrance into Samarcand; of the festivities of triumph which he gave at Samarcand; of his death at Atrar, when just on the point to march against China. Timur, I learn, pitched at every siege three tents successively, of different colours. The first tent was *white*, to announce that he came to give peace to the enemy if they should surrender. The second was *red*, to indicate that he would shed their blood if they offered resistance. The third *black*, to typify their mourning if they did not submit.

Whilst he thus was relating the deeds of Timur, he suddenly broke off, and turning to me he said, "The English people are now Timur, for they are the descendants of Ghengis Khan. The Inglees will be the conquerors of the world. On my pilgrimage to Mecca I came to Aden, where they keep a strong force, and from whence they may march to Mecca whenever they please; and march towards Mecca they shall."

A Tūrkomaun present said, "The Russians shall be the conquerors of the world. They have now built a strong castle almost in the midst of the sea, not far from Khiva. The people of Khiva have once burnt it down, but they soon built it up again. All is over with Islaam."

A derveesh sitting among us made the following remark; "The great mullahs of Samarcand assert that Russia is the Jaaj-Majooj, *i. e.* Gog and Magog, and this has been already predicted by Ameer Sultan, the great derveesh of Room."

To my great astonishment, the derveesh related to the Tūrkomauns the history of the apostasy of Iskandar Beyk from Islamism, in the year 862 of the Hejira, whose name was first Girgis Kastrioota, but who received for his valour the name of Iskandar Beyk from Sultan Murad, whom he forsook and turned to the Europeans, and became a scourge of the Mussulmans, and put a stop to their conquests. From this circumstance one may observe, that there are still clever people among the derveeshes, and that they are not all, as described by Mr. Perkins, a set of useless beggars. The derveeshes and Jews preserve some knowledge of religion in the desert among those wild Tūrkomauns, just as the Christian monks preserved the Bible in the middle ages in the convents from the destruction of the Vandals, and as the monks in Abyssinia to this day have preserved copies of the Bible in their convents, at a time when the Gallas inundate the country of Ethiopia. Ameer Sultan, Shams Tabreezee, Mullah Roome, Hafiz, Saadi, Firdousi, Abul Kasem, are derveeshes whose names will only be forgotten when the Eastern world and its literature shall be utterly destroyed. The same is the case with the Christian monks. I need only mention the names of Thomas à Kempis, Taulerus, Luther, Gerson, Sixtus Senensis: these will be in everlasting remembrance.

There was also in the caravan a fakeer from Patna, who was on a pilgrimage to Russia, where the Hindūs have a place of pilgrimage, the name of which I have forgotten. He told

the Tūrkomauns of the deeds of the British nation in Hindūstaun, of General Lake and Lord Clive.

Another came forward. He was from Sinde, and said, "There is now a governor in Sinde, Lord Napier by name, who is like lightning flame. He has beaten one hundred thousand Pooloj with four hundred men." The whole caravan exclaimed, "Allah, Allah, Allah! they certainly will come here; and if they come, we submit at once, for we Tūrkomauns will never fight against those who have the upper hand. We serve the most powerful, let them be Hindūs, or Christians, or Mussulmans. Those who give us khelats (robes of honour), and tillahs (ducats), we serve." The Khaleefa of Mowr observed, "God rewards integrity. The English are a people of integrity, and therefore God rewards their integrity. We Tūrkomauns are thieves, and therefore God is displeased with us."

The Tūrkomauns of this place, and of Sarakhs, formerly provided the king of Khiva, as they do now the Ameer of Bokhara, with horsemen, called Sawar, or Al-Aman, horses and mules. I have already alluded to Ezekiel xxvii.

Near this place we meet also with the ruins of a mighty city, called Sultaun Sanjaar, from a king who, according to Sir John Malcolm's account, lived A. D. 1140. He was the greatest of the Seljuckian dynasty, but was at last beaten by the Tūrkomauns.

The Khaleefa of Mowr spoke with admiration of Hullakoo Khan, grandson of Ghengis Khan, and son of Tooli Khan. He marched through Mowr, conquered Organtsh, and at last Bagdad. When the Tūrkomauns of Mowr intended to plunder us, he reminded the Tūrkomauns, in an exalted voice, that such an act of treachery was not even committed by Ghengis Khan. It is worthy of notice, that the son of the Rabbi of Meshed is among those Jews who became Mussulmans, and turned Tūrkomaun. The Khaleefa of Mowr showed great confidence in me by recommending to my care a Haje

from Khokand, who was on his way to Mecca. The son of the Khaleefa called on me, and said, "Dil Assa Khan has acted a treacherous part against you; but, be assured, he has only obeyed his master's orders, the Assaff-ood-Dowla, who is the most dishonest man in existence. Three years are passed since he promised us to return the twenty Tūrkomaun prisoners, and he has never done it. There is no faith in the Kajar," by which he meant the members of the royal family of Persia. However, I have no just reason to coincide with the opinion of the son of the Khaleefa as to the Assaff-ood-Dowla's character, for he acted always uniformly kind to me; that he is afraid of the English there can be no doubt, and that he entertains more hope in the assistance of Russia. There is no doubt, also, that he will declare himself king of Khorassaun after the death of Muhammed Shah. He hates the Haje with all his soul.

The best class of Tūrkomauns are those of the tribe of Salor, who called on me, and said, "When Todd was at Heraut, and Abbott and Shakespeare on their way to Khiva, they employed us frequently to give them information, which we willingly gave to them for *Turkman perwa nedarand.*" The Tūrkomauns do not mind whom they serve, either the King of Bokhara, or the Khan of Khiva, or the Padishah of Russia, or Dowlat, *i. e.* the Power, by which they mean England. "And we serve you," they continued, "if you pay us well." I was surprised to observe, that the Tūrkomauns and people of Heraut were aware that the British government disapproved of Todd's departure from Heraut; but all of them assured me that Yar Muhammed Khan would have put him to death if he had stopped there.

A Tūrkomaun of the Salor tribe brought to me, to the house of the Khaleefa, *i. e.* the Grand-derveesh of Mowr or Merve, a whole camel's load of melons, which I declined accepting, as they generally demand ten times more than the value as a recompense.

Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli consulted with each other, and determined to bring me in the night-time to their house, and then to conduct me on the road to Khiva, and murder me there. I informed the Khaleefa of it, who placed a guard the whole night near my room.

I found, to my great surprise, two Jews at Merve (Mowr), who had embraced the Muhammedan religion, and become Tūrkomauns by profession and pursuit.

It is to be observed, that the Jews of Mowr call the inhabitants of Khiva *Philistines;* and they maintain that they are the descendants of the Hivites of old. The Jews of Khiva intermarry with the Muhammedans at Khiva, whilst the respective parties preserve each their separate religion,—a great proof that the Tūrkomauns and Usbecks are, with regard to their religion, in many respects, less fanatics than the Muhammedans in Turkey and Arabia, where they would instantly put to death both husband and wife. The Jews of Mowr, as well as those of Bokhara, assure me that the Jews residing at Khiva are so intimate with the Tūrkomauns, and have such a hatred against the king of Bokhara, that they frequently assist the Khivites in battle; and one may frequently hear among the Khivites, when attacking the enemy, the war-cry, in Hebrew, *Rabone Shel Olam!* 'lord of the world,' mixed up with that of the Tūrkomaun war-cry, *Serenk!* 'brave;' or, *Bismillahe Arrahman Arraheem!* 'in the name of the most merciful God.' The Jews of Mowr, as well as those of Bokhara, assure me that children of Israel of the tribe of Naphtali and Zebulun are in the Hindu Koosh among the Balkhwee, and live from robbery; and they know the exclamation, *Shama Yisrael!* 'hear, Israel.' Ghengis Khan had a whole corps of Jews among his troops.

Joseph of Talkhtoon, a Jew from Meshed, but who lived among the Tūrkomauns at Talkhtoon, and in the fame of sanctity, returned to Meshed as soon as the event of Allah-

Daad had taken place,—became Muhammedan, took his wife and child, went to Candahar, where he again returned to Judaism.

The Jews of Khiva, Khokand, and Tashkand visit some times the following marts and fairs: those of Makariev, Orenbourg, and Astrachan, in Russia; and go even as far as Leipsic, where they were justly recognised as the remnants of the Ten Tribes of Israel. The Jews of Khiva, Khokand, and Tashkand, and also those of Heraut, sent me word that they had a great desire to see me in those places, in order to speak with me about the coming of the Messiah. Several Jews of Heraut spoke to me with great regard about Majors Rawlinson, Todd, and a certain Mr. Loggin, whom I have not the pleasure to know. Singular to say, Sir Alexander Burnes told the Jews of Cabūl that I was dead, and that he (Sir Alexander Burnes) *had performed his devotions at my tomb.*

Here also are found coins, with Arabic inscriptions, of the time of Sultan Sanjaar, of whose riches the Tūrkomauns speak wonders,—of his silver thrones, and his hundred crowns of gold. He was once defeated by the inhabitants of Khetay. He resided at Merwe, and governed Khiva. He was at last made prisoner by the people of Khetay: he escaped. Derveeshes till this moment relate in melodious strains the deeds of Sanjaar.

The Tūrkomauns here I found, in spite of the treaty with the Assaff-ood-Dowla, had killed, fourteen days before our arrival, one of his messengers, and made seventeen Persian slaves. The evening before our departure from this place was the only agreeable evening I passed in it. The Khaleefa then supped with me, and I conversed with him till midnight on the second coming of Jesus, and on the day of resurrection. As the Khaleefa had been informed of the intention of the Tūrkomauns to plunder the caravan, he and his eldest son accompanied us two days through the desert towards Sarakhs, and left us with the friendly tribe of Tekka.

CHAPTER XXII.

Tribe of Tekka. *Route:* Olugh Baba—Sarakhs. Abbas Kouli Khan ill-treated by the Türkomauns—The Türkomauns demand Robes of Honour. Dr. Wolff is obliged to assume Madness to preserve himself and Abbas Kouli Khan—Türkomauns demand Tribute again. Taking of Sarakhs by Abbas Mirza in 1832—Khojam Shokoor threatens to put the Caravan to Death. Arrival at Mostroon—Nasarieh—Dil Assa Khan is disgraced by the Assaff-ood-Dowla—Gaskoon—Meshed—Dr. Wolff seized with Illness. Account of Meshed—its Rulers. Letter from Colonel Sheil, announcing a Subscription to the Mission of three thousand Rupees from Captain Eyre—A second Letter from Colonel Sheil, announcing a Subscription for the same Object from Cabûl Relief Committee of ten thousand Rupees—Letter from Captain D'Arcy. Dr. Wolff never received these Amounts. Letter from Agra Bank, announcing further Subscription from the North-west Provinces of India —Letter from Secretary of the Cabûl Relief Society—Third Letter from Colonel Sheil. Assaff-ood-Dowla takes Birjand—Earthquake at Kayen—Persian Agents not trustworthy. Kind Reception at Meshed of Dr. Wolff by Hussein Khan, Son of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Hussein Khan wishes to punish Dil Assa Khan—Dr. Wolff intercedes for him on account of his Family—Dr. Wolff gets Abdullah bastinadoed and imprisoned. Fourth Letter of Colonel Sheil. Kindness of Mullah Mehdee to the English—Villany of a German named Dieskau. Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa, calls at Night on Dr. Wolff—Massacre of Allah-Daad—The Jew Rahmeem. Dr. Wolff's Letter to the Jews of Meshed.

THE tribe of Tekka, spoken of in the last chapter, are more attached to the king of Organtsh than to the Ameer of Bokhara, and therefore the people of Mowr dared not pursue us here. It is also to be remarked that the tribe of Tekka, with the tribe of Koora Timur, remained attached together to the unfortunate Sultan Sanjaar to the last. One thing was unfortunate for me, that several of the tribe of Tekka are in secret understanding with Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan; so that

if a time should arrive that that villain will be obliged to escape from Bokhara, he will find not only an asylum among the Tūrkomauns of Tekka, but also persons, especially one Khan Saat by name, who will assist him in making his escape. These Tūrkomauns of Tekka knew that Abdul Samut Khan was my enemy.

We went from Tekka to another camp of the same tribe, called Olough Baba, and then arrived at Sarakhs. Abbas Kouli Khan was so ill treated by them, that the poor man burst into tears, and said, "If ever I return to Persia, I will perform my Siyarat (pilgrimage) to Kerbelay, to the tomb of Imaum Hussein; and thence go to Mecca and Medinah, and there remain with my wife and child."

On our arrival at Sarakhs, the Tūrkomauns demanded from Abbas Kouli Khan and myself khelats, (robes of honour). I had none to give, except those belonging to Conolly, which he bought as presents for chiefs, and which I gave them. Dil Assa Khan, however, combined with Abdullah, and advised the Tūrkomaun boys to hoot me and Abbas Kouli Khan. As if struck by inspiration, I suddenly conceived the brilliant idea of playing the madman, to prevent a rush of the mob on us, and began to dance about and sing the Persian song,

His fancy's wild, his mind distraught,
Who casts on God and Earth his thought.

Thinking me possessed, they called out, "This is a Dehli," 'a possessed derveesh,' and quitted me in terror.

Residence among these lawless tribes convinces me more than ever that there cannot be worse despotism than the despotism of a mob. There is nothing in my eyes more pregnant with fatal consequences than the sway and power of an ignorant and uncivilized multitude, governed by no other motives than its own maddening impulses. Virtue is repeatedly punished by them,—vice scarcely at all. Savage life, with me, has no charms. I have always found the savage more malicious, deceitful, and cruel than the beings in civilized life,

whatever fine things may be said of the virtues of the desert. What is the savage in the abstract? The fearful declension from a purer type, not, as is erroneously supposed, the early element of man.

Even at Sarakhs, though nominally under the protection of Persia, the Tūrkomauns detained us again for several days, demanding tribute, which we were obliged to give; but here another circumstance of a most annoying nature happened. The ambassador of the king of Bokhara to the court of Persia, Sabhan Ullah Beyk by name, in union with his co-ambassador for England, permitted some Tūrkomaun chiefs to capture those slaves that had purchased their liberty, and to again enslave them. After a long discussion, they were out-voted by some of the chiefs of the Tūrkomauns. I did not find one single Tūrkomaun at Sarakhs of those who inhabited that place in 1832. On my way to Bokhara, there were there some of my old acquaintances of 1832, but on my return they were all gone to Yolatan, near Mowr. Thus unsteady are the movements of these tribes.

Abbas Mirza took Sarakhs in the following manner, in 1832. He marched with his army towards it, but sent word to the Tūrkomauns that he wished to treat with them, and therefore they should send to him their chiefs. The chiefs came. When he pretended to be carrying on negotiations, he ordered the chief portion of his army to advance, and his royal Highness himself soon followed. When he came near the castle, a little rivulet obstructed his way. General Borowski, the Jew, advised Abbas Mirza to divert the stream, which he did, and the castle was taken, with the assistance of one thousand Russians, by the address of Borowski. The greater part of the Tūrkomauns were either slain in battle or made slaves. Thus, for the first time, the Tūrkomauns experienced the same calamity which they inflicted on the Persians; for as they formerly made slaves of the Persians in Khorassaun, Abbas Mirza, as a just punishment, enslaved

them in return. Previous to the arrival of Abbas Mirza, the Khans, from covetousness and policy, gave to any Tūrkomaun, who happened to be made prisoner, his liberty, on paying a small sum for his ransom. Thus Abbas Mirza was the first who punished the robberies of the Tūrkomauns with just retribution. I cannot bear the Tūrkomauns; they are a covetous, treacherous, and, at the same time, stupid class of people. They have not either the ability of the Arab or the Kurd. I must also add that Mullah Mehdee, the Jew of Meshed, and the Jews of Sarakhs, were of essential assistance to Abbas Mirza in his stratagems to delude the Tūrkomauns. I must also confess that I am sorry that our government withdrew the British force, consisting of Captain Shee and five serjeants, as soon as Abbas Mirza marched against Sarakhs; for what advantage can accrue to the British government from befriending the Tūrkomauns at the expense of amity with Persia? It is the same policy which was formerly pursued by the European powers with regard to the Barbary States. I think it is time that Christian powers should pursue a line of policy consistent with principles of morality, founded upon the Gospel, and not follow measures based on mutual jealousy. Would to God the British government would appoint every where such men as Sir Stratford Canning and Lord William Bentinck!

The most powerful Aga Sakal, of the tribe of Tekka, at Sarakhs, is Khojam Shokoor, who is allied with the king of Khiva. He threatened to smite with the edge of the sword the whole caravan if they did not give him tribute, after the other Tūrkomauns had taken it. The place is divided into those who are allied with Bokhara, and others with Khiva.

We left that horrid place, and arrived at Mostroon. "Thank God!" we exclaimed, "we are on Persian ground." Mostroon is situated upon an eminence, with a castle erected there by the Assaff-ood-Dowla of Khorassaun, for the purpose of watching the movements of the Tūrkomauns; and

to prevent them from invading Khorassaun, fifty soldiers of the Merve tribe are placed there, with some pieces of artillery. About ten minutes' walk distance from Mostroon is a hot well of most powerful mineral water. If this place were in the hands of a European power, a most beautiful Spa could be made of it.

From thence we proceeded to Nasarieh, a place containing about twenty houses, and six farsangs distant from Mostroon. It is inhabited by Mervee, who were formerly on a good understanding with the Türkomauns, and assisted them in making slaves in Khorassaun; but the Assaff-ood-Dowla cut off the heads of several of them, and then they thought better of it, and gave up that trade. The villain Dil Assa Khan was the chief of the Mervee at Nasarieh, but, on account of his treachery towards me, the Assaff-ood-Dowla has deposed him. From Nasarieh we proceeded to Gaskoon, a village of two hundred houses, with a strong castle; we slept there one night. Mullah Mehdee, the Jew, came from Meshed to welcome me.

We proceeded the next day towards Meshed, the capital of Khorassaun. Many inhabitants came out to meet me, and exclaimed, "Praise be to God that you come back with your head from that accursed city, Bokhara! We have heard how shamefully you have been treated by those scoundrels, Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan and Dil Assa Khan. The Assaff-ood-Dowla has sworn by God, the Prophet, and Ali, to burn the father and wife of Dil Assa Khan." Just on our entering Meshed *the holy*, I was taken with a most violent vomiting. Before I enter into details about my reception at Meshed, *the holy* as it is called, I must give a short sketch of that place.

Meshed was formerly called Toos. When Imaum Resa was poisoned by the son of Haroun Rashid, the place was called Meshed, *i. e.* the place of martyrdom; it is the most celebrated place of pilgrimage for the Sheahs. Muhammedans of that sect from all parts come to perform their devo-

tions at the tomb of Imaum Resa, over which a most splendid mosque is built: the cupola of it is entirely of gold. It is visited every year by from twenty to thirty thousand pilgrims. It is a great commercial town, and caravans go from thence to Heraut, Candahar, Bokhara, Isfahan, Teheraun, and Tabreez. The town is under the king of Persia, but he has but little influence there. It is not only the place of burial of Imaum Resa, but also of Haroun Rashid and his son; also the great poet Firdousi, the author of the *Shah Nameh*: and the great conqueror Moslem-Beyk, at whose tomb Timur performed his devotions. It was conquered by Tamerlane, and the following personages are the real rulers of the place:

1. Alloyer Khan, the Assaff-ood-Dowla, or Viceroy of the empire. He is uncle to his Majesty the king of Persia.
2. Mirza Askeree Imaum Jumaa, head of the mosque of Imaum Resa, and chief Mullah of the town.
3. Mirza Moosa Khan, the Metualli, *i. e.* President of the mosque.
4. Mirza Haje Hashem, one of the directors of the prayer at the mosque.
5. Minister of the Police.

These direct all the internal affairs of and around Meshed as far as Semnan. In order to give some idea of the little influence the king of Persia has at Meshed, I have simply to note that, after the massacre of the Jews had taken place at Meshed, the king sent a commissioner with an order that the perpetrators of the crime should be delivered and brought to Teheraun. This order was disobeyed!

On my arrival I met Ali Muhammed Beyk, gholam of the British embassy of Teheraun, already there, with letters from Colonel Sheil for myself; and also letters from India, that three thousand rupees had been collected for me, which I never received.

On this subject I subjoin the following kind communication from Colonel Sheil:

My dear Dr. Wolff, Tehran, August 11th, 1844.

A messenger is on the point of going to Meshed, and gives me time only to tell you that I have received a letter from Captain Eyre, in which he informs me that three thousand rupees are at your disposal.

You can draw on me for that amount; but I beg of you particularly to distinguish in your different bills on what account it is you draw. This is necessary for my reimbursement.

I have told Aga Abul Kassim to deliver to you this letter on your arrival at Meshed; *for I cannot venture to place you in danger by sending a letter to Bokhara.*

With best wishes, believe me,

Yours very truly,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

I cannot express my thanks for Lieutenant Eyre's great kindness, for I refer to him, indirectly if not directly, the following communication from Colonel Sheil:

Sir, Tehran, June 1st, 1844.

I have the honour to forward to you a letter, which I have received to your address from Captain D'Arcy, secretary to the Bombay Cabul Relief Fund Committee, placing at your disposal, for certain purposes, the sum of ten thousand rupees (10,000 Rs.) Your drafts upon me to the above amount, not exceeding two thousand tomans (Ts. 2000), will receive the attention requisite. And I have moreover requested Agha Abul Kassim, a merchant at Meshed with whom you are acquainted, to afford you assistance in finding purchasers for your bills, and to answer your bills on him. You should, however, avoid drawing largely on this person without previous communication, as his means may be inadequate to the payment of considerable sums.

Should you draw upon me for the purposes mentioned by Captain D'Arcy, I beg you will keep in distinct recollection the necessity of stating, in the body of the bill, that it is drawn on account of the Bombay Cabul Relief Fund Committee. An omission on this point will put me to much inconvenience.

I also transmit to you a letter from the Secretary to the General Committee Cabul Relief Fund, authorizing you to draw upon the Sub-committee for ten thousand rupees (Rs. 10,000). I am inclined to conjecture that your bills on that Association would not

be saleable in Toorkestan, or even at Meshed, and I am not aware that the Committee has made any other adequate arrangement for their payment. It is therefore, I suppose, requisite that, in case of necessity, you should draw bills on me for the above amount, not exceeding two thousand tomans (Ts. 2000). And I have also requested Agha Abul Kassim to afford you such assistance as may be in his power in the disposal of your bills. I shall write to the secretary of the General Fund to make arrangements for answering my counter bills.

Should you draw on me on this account, I shall be equally obliged to you to state distinctly in the bill, that it is on account of the General Cabul Relief Fund Committee.

I have forwarded these letters to Mullah Mehdee, your agent at Meshed, directing him to transmit them to Merve, to your servant Rejjeb. But I have told Mullah Mehdee not to send these letters to Bokhara; for however useful it might be that you should receive them in that city, I fear to expose you to what I believe would be great danger, by rendering you liable to the suspicions of the Ameer.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient humble servant,
JUSTIN SHEIL.

I also subjoin Captain D'Arcy's kind letter to myself:

My dear Mr. Wolff, Bombay, March 19th, 1844.

I have the pleasure to inclose a letter to your address from the Secretary of the General Committee of the Cabool Relief Fund, at Umbalea; and at the same time I am directed, by the Bombay Cabool Relief Fund Committee, to place at your disposal a further sum of (Rs. 10,000) ten thousand Company Rupees, to enable you to procure the release of any captive British subjects who may be still remaining in Affghanistan, or the neighbouring states, as slaves, or who may be incapacitated from returning to their native country by wounds or sickness received during the disastrous retreat of our army in 1842.

The Envoy at the Court of Persia, Colonel Sheil, has been requested by the Bombay government to cash your bills for the above amount; and I have requested him, in forwarding this letter, to address you on the subject, and point out the mode by which you may most conveniently draw on him for the amount.

That the Almighty God may bless you in your humane efforts, is the prayer of, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,
GEORGE D'ARCY,
Secretary to the Bombay Cabool Relief Fund.

I further add the following communication from the secretary of the Cabūl Relief Society alluded to in the above letter:

My dear Sir, Camp, Umbalea, March 3rd, 1844.

The General Committee of the Caubul Relief Fund having taken into their serious consideration the case of the numerous British subjects who must be remaining in Affghanistan and the neighbouring states, either as slaves or from inability to leave; and regarding them as sufferers from the disastrous retreat of the British force in 1842, have resolved to appropriate a portion of their remaining funds to effect their release and return to their own country. Their intentions are embodied in the annexed Resolution, dated the 21st ultimo.

The Committee have reluctantly limited your power of drawing upon them to ten thousand rupees. Their object in such limitation is to reserve a portion of their funds to provide for the necessities of those who from physical disability may be unable to support themselves, and who may not be entitled to a pension from Government; but while they thus restrict your expenditure, they anxiously hope that you may be able to enter into such arrangements as may enable them, should their funds admit, to complete their labours, under the gratifying assurance that not a single individual who has a claim on British sympathy grieves in captivity, or is exposed to wander in the streets of a foreign country a beggar and an outcast.

Earnestly soliciting your cordial co-operation, which from the feelings which induced your present mission we confidently anticipate receiving, and commending you to the protection of our gracious God,

Believe me, dear Sir, sincerely yours,
J. RICHARDSON,
Secretary Gen. Com. C. R. F.
21st February, 1844.

Resolved,—That a letter be written through the Resident at the Court of Persia to the Rev. Dr. Wolff, requesting him to exert

himself in the release and return to India of any Hindoostanees and others, lately in the British service, who from physical injuries, or from being in bondage, may be unable to leave; and that he be authorized to draw on the Sub-committee for this purpose to the extent of ten thousand rupees. That he be further requested to make all payments for this object dependent on the arrival of the unfortunate sufferers at Peshawar; and that, should the means now placed at his disposal be inadequate to effect the release and return of all that he may meet, he be solicited to enter into such arrangements as may enable the Committee, should their means admit, to extend their aid to others.

J. RICHARDSON, *Sec. Gen. Com.*

I think it right to add, that I have received nothing from either of these Societies' funds, which have possibly remitted the separate amounts to England or Persia. Independent of these, I received by the Agra Bank 129*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, remitted to my bankers, Messrs. Drummond, of which I subjoin the following document:

Agra and United Service Bank,
May 10th, 1844.

Sir,

I have the pleasure to advise my having this day sent to Messrs. Drummond and Company, Charing Cross, a bill for 129*l.* 15*s.* 4*d.*, being amount of subscriptions of officers and others in the North-west Provinces of India, in aid of the benevolent object you have undertaken.

At the suggestion of Captain V. Eyre, we have made this sum payable to Colonel Sheil, on your behalf. He will, no doubt, be able to advise with you as to the best mode of realizing it.

I remain, yours faithfully,

H. W. I. WOOD,
Assistant-Secretary for the Society.

To Colonel Sheil I feel deeply indebted for the safe conveyance of all these notices, and for the following cautious and well-timed epistle:

My dear Sir, June 16th, 1844.

As a matter of precaution, lest your detention at Bokhara should be prolonged on other pretexts, I have despatched a letter from the Shah to the Ameer regarding you, to be forwarded in the event of there being any necessity by the Assaf-ood-Dowlah to Bokhara. I trust, however, that this will not be required, and

that you are already within the Persian territory. It will be very satisfactory to me to hear this intelligence, for until then I shall not be free from anxiety on your account.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

The Assaff-ood-Dowla was just gone to the district of Kayen, in the city of Birjand, called also by some travellers Burjund. Ameer Assaad Ullah Khan, of Kayen or Burjund, was the only Khan who refused submission to Abbas Mirza, and now to the Assaff-ood-Dowla. The Assaff-ood-Dowla marched against him whilst I was at Bokhara, and succeeded in taking the whole district, and Burjund, the capital. An earthquake also killed thousands of the people of Kayen.

Now to give an idea of how little the Persians can be trusted as agents, I have just to state the following fact. Soon after my arrival at Meshed, Aga Abool Kasem, then the agent of Colonel Sheil, came to me. I was then with Mullah Mehdee, and surrounded by a great number of Jews, or, as they were now called by the Mussulmans, *Islam Jadeeda*, 'new Mussulmans,' as Jews in Spain, forced to be Christians, are called *Nuevi Cristiani*, 'new Christians.' Now Aga Abool Kasem brought with him a Sayëd, and introduced him to me as a man sent as a *secret agent* by Colonel Sheil to watch the movements of the Assaff-ood-Dowla. He told me, also, that his (the Sayëd's) brother was sent by Colonel Sheil to Kayen, to watch the Assaff-ood-Dowla there, and report to him whenever the Assaff intended to attack Heraut. He told me that he was a *secret agent* of Colonel Sheil in the presence of twenty Jews and many Mussulmans, and I *know* that he was employed by Colonel Sheil.

The following circumstance must also not be forgotten. One of the chief men of Yar Muhammed Khan at Heraut, whose name I have forgotten, sent a man to Colonel Sheil with some presents and a letter. Colonel Sheil gave to the man a letter for Yar Muhammed Khan's chief man, and a

spy-glass as at present. The messenger came to me, and wished actually to sell to me the spy-glass consigned to his care by Colonel Sheil to deliver it to the man of Yar Muhammed Khan, called Mirza Nujuf Khan; and though the fellow had returned from Teheraun to Meshed when I arrived at Meshed on my way to Bokhara, he never proceeded to Heraut, but was still at Meshed on my return, and never had delivered either Colonel Sheil's letter or spy-glass.

As the Assaff-ood-Dowla was not there, his son Hussein Khan received me very kindly, and delivered to me a letter from his father, who made a thousand apologies for having sent with me a man like Dil Assa Khan, and desired me to order any punishment which I liked to inflict upon him, and placed him immediately in irons; but as Dil Assa Khan had a wife and children, I interceded for him. But I got instantly put into irons my servant Abdullah, bastinadoed and sent to prison for forty days; for he threatened to come after me, and that he would not rest until he had accomplished the pledge he gave to Abdul Samut Khan to put me to death, adding these words: "God burn the father of Abbas Kouli Khan! for his care and solicitude about the Kafir, which prevented me from killing him on the road."

The following letter reached me here from Colonel Sheil:

My dear Dr. Wolff, 19 Sep.

I am heartily glad to learn your arrival in Meshed. I have sent a gholam specially to accompany you to Tehran, and I recommend you to quit your companions, and come on with him as fast as you can. I conclude, from the state of your health, that you do not intend to travel to the eastward.

Believe me very truly yours,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

The bearer takes a letter to Hoossein Khan, directing him to send you to Tehran. I have taken this precaution, lest Hajee Ibrahem should attempt to impede you on account of the bill for six thousand tillahs.

Get the two thousand tillahs from Abbas Koolee Khan without delay. J. S.

Though I had a house assigned to me by Hussein Khan, the governor, I stopped with Mullah Mehdee, who has always shown himself a friend to me and all the English nation; and this kind Jew was, during the invasion of the English in Affghanistaun, employed by Major Rawlinson at Candahar, and Major Todd at Heraut, and suffered repeatedly for his attachment to our people. In proof of it I record the following fact. A German from Hamburgh, named Dieskau, came from India to Meshed, pretending to be an English ambassador. Mullah Mehdee lent him twelve hundred ducats, with which the rascal escaped. The fact is known to Sir John Mc Neill, Colonel Farrant, and Colonel Sheil, and to the Governor-general of India. While in this place the Jews asked, "Why their countrymen of old did not know the doctrine of the Trinity?" I replied that they had some dark intimations of it; as, for instance, in Isaiah vi., when the prophet saw the glory of the Lord in the image of one sitting on a throne on high surrounded by Seraphim, who, veiling their faces, exclaimed, 'Holy, Holy, Holy!' I pointed out to them that the prophet said, that the whole of the temple in which he saw this vision was filled with smoke. I also pointed out that a similar vision was given to John at Patmos; but that then the Seraphim surrounding the throne of the Holy One were covered with eyes, and exclaimed also, 'Holy, Holy, Holy!' Both these descriptions, I told them, applied to one and the same mystery, viz. the one Eternal Godhead, which with the threefold Holy is to be adored in the three Eternal Persons. I told them, also, to notice that the Seraphim surrounding Isaiah *veiled* their faces, and smoke then obscured the temple. That was the description of nations expecting redemption; but in the new covenant all was light, therefore they appeared full of eyes: Rev. iv. A very remarkable, and not commonly noticed passage on the Trinity, occurs at Romans xi. 36: "For of him, and through him, and to him are all things, to whom be glory for ever." *Of Him* denotes the creative power of the Father; *through Him*, the mediation of the Son;

to Him, the fulness of life of the Holy Ghost. This blessed Spirit unites the Son with the Father, and also unites the created things with the Creator. But as they are inseparable from each other, he concludes, "To Him be glory for ever."

Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa or chief of the mosque, called on me in the night-time, for I was exceedingly unwell. He made me a present of a turquoise ring. He said, "I was suspected by Muhammed Shah (king of Persia) to be too partial to England, and he therefore invited me to appear at Teheraun. I obeyed the summons, but I could drive out the Kajar, *i. e.* the present dynasty of Persia, from Meshed whenever I please." I besought him to protect the Jews, and not to allow the Muhammedans to carry on against them a regular system of inquisition. Mirza Askeree is very fond of money, and after receiving a few tomauns from a Jewish family, he allowed a considerable number of them to emigrate to Heraut, Yazd, and Teheraun, where they live again as Jews. How affecting it is to look at the Jews of Meshed! I saw the poor old women go about continually, exclaiming, "*Allah-Daad! Allah-Daad!*" 'God has given! God has given!' the exclamation used by the Sayëd to excite the populace to murder the Jews of Meshed.

On my second arrival I heard more fully the history of the massacre of the Jews. The Jews for centuries had settled there from the cities Casween, Rasht, and Yazd. They were distinguished advantageously by their cleanliness, industry, and taste for Persian poetry. Many of them had actually imbibed the system of the Persian Sooffees. We heard them, instead of singing the hymns of Zion, reciting in plaintive strains the poetry of Hafiz and Firdousi, and the writings of Masnawee. They had accumulated great riches, and did not busy themselves in propitiating the authorities of Meshed by occasional presents. Their wealth had long excited the cupidity of the people of Meshed, who only sought an opportunity to seize on their possessions. The following occasion presented itself, which enabled them to realize this object.

In the year 1838 the Muhammedans celebrated the feast of Bairam. On that very day a Jewess slaughtered a dog, at the advice of a Mussulman physician, for the purpose of washing with the blood of the dog her own hands. One of the Mussulman Sayëds, who heard it, and to whom the Jews previously had refused a present, called together all the Mussulmans in the mosque of Imaum Resa, and addressed them in the following manner; "People of Muhammed and Ali, the Jews have derided our feast of Bairam, by sacrificing on the very day of our feast a dog. I shall now tell you in two words what must be done,—*Allah-Daad*," which means, 'God has given.' They took the allusion, and whilst the Assaff-ood-Dowla, Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Jumaa, and the rest of the authorities, were sleeping, the whole populace shouted "Allah-Daad," and with this shout of *Allah-Daad* they rushed into the houses of the Jews, slew thirty-five of them, robbed and plundered their property, and the rest of them saved their lives but not their property, by reciting the Muhammedan creed. Only a few of them preferred death to apostasy. Mullah Daoud Cohen, the chief Rabbi and High-priest of the Jewish nation at Meshed, gave the first example of apostasy. The year in which this event happened still goes by the name of Allah-Daad among both Jews and Muhammedans. In secret they observe the Jewish religion, and tell their children not to forget the event of Allah-Daad.

There is a Jew here, Rahmeem by name, whom I knew in former times. He was not only learned in Jewish learning, but also in Persian literature, and rather given to the system of the Sooffees. When he saw the Jews massacred, and the shout of "Allah-Daad" became universal, he turned Muhammedan with the rest, but soon after was struck with madness. The word of "Allah-Daad!" struck him with consternation; he tears his clothes, and runs about in the streets, and the only word he utters is "Allah-Daad!" I asked him, "Rahmeem, if I give you a suit of clothes, will you wear them?" "Yes." I gave him a suit of clothes: the next day he tore them

into pieces, exclaiming, "Allah-Daad! When my mosque shall be built I will wear clothing. Now Allah-Daad! Allah-Daad!"

Whilst I was with the Jews at Meshed, the time came that the Jews commemorate their day of Atonement. The poor women and the old Jews fasted in secret. The Mussulmans were informed by those Jews who had been real apostates to the Muhammedan faith, and who voluntarily embraced that faith for the sake of convenience, previous to the event of Allah-Daad, that the Jews converted in the year of Allah-Daad were Jews in secret. Whilst I was with them the servant of Mirza Sayd Askeree, the Imaum Ajooma, entered the house of a Jew in the evening time, in order to find out whether they celebrated the Atonement. I was informed of the fact, and sent him word to leave immediately the house of the Jew, which he did. The next morning I wrote to the Imaum Ajooma a serious letter, and gave him to understand that most of the European powers take an interest in the condition of the Jews, and told him that he would make himself an immortal name if he would protect the Jews; which he promised to do. I wrote the following appeal to the Jews of Meshed, which was copied by them, and sent by them to the Jews of Heraut, Mazanderaun, Yazd, Hamadan, and others. The appeal was as follows:

My dear Brethren,

I knew you fourteen years ago—a long time before the event of Allah-Daad took place. You were kind to me, and administered to me the rites of hospitality; and therefore what I am going to tell you does not proceed from any feeling of hostility and ill-will, but from a feeling of affection, regard, and compassion towards you: and what I am going to tell you is, that you had but little feeling for true religion—of that religion which teaches the Shah, the sage, and the philosopher to look up to the Creator, the Lord of the world, with confidence, like a sucking child to the mother while it rests upon her knees,—and which teaches the philosopher to exclaim with child-like simplicity, Abba, Father! You had little feeling for that religion which teaches us that all

around us is desert, if our spirit does not look towards heaven. You, like the Sooffees of the Persians, whom many of you worshipped, studied history and nature without reference to religion, unmindful that nature and history are only enigmas, which can only be solved by the knowledge of true religion. You wallowed about in the sensual poems of Hafiz, and Youssuff and Zuleika, and forgot Moses and the Prophets. You were totally void of faith, which is the element of all human knowledge and activity. You despised Moses and the Prophets, and walked in the ways of the Gentiles. God, therefore, gave you up to them in his righteous indignation; and those very people in whom you placed your entire confidence have been, as you told me yourselves, the first who not only forsook you, but plundered you. Return, therefore, to the Lord your God, with weeping, sorrow, and contrition of heart. Search the Scriptures, which will lead you to Him who, though He was rejected by the Jews as the brethren of Joseph rejected their brother, and as the children of Israel rejected Moses in the beginning, was nevertheless the son of David according to the flesh, and the Jehovah our Righteousness according to the Spirit. He was bruised for our iniquities, and despised and rejected of men, and was cut off from the land of the living; but, after there shall have been overturnings, overturnings, overturnings of empires, He shall bring you into the wilderness, and there He will plead with you face to face, like as He pleaded with your fathers in the wilderness of the land of Egypt. Those days of Egypt, my dear friends, and the events which took place in those days, are typical of those days and events which shall take place when Jesus of Nazareth, who is the real son of David, shall come the second time to redeem, not only Israel, but also accomplish all the promises to the Gentiles. Mighty events shall soon take place; and you have already had a forewarning of the sufferings which shall come upon you in the event of Allah-Daad, until you shall look on Him whom you have pierced, and mourn. Then you shall enter into the Land of Promise; but you must repent first of your sins, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out when the days of refreshing shall come from the presence of the Lord.

I advise you, however, in the first instance, to write to Sir Moses Montefiore, who will give you every assistance in his power, in order to bring you out of your present distressed condition.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Dissent among the Mussulmans—Sayëd asserts Pilgrimages to be unnecessary. Imaum Resa killed by Haroun Rashid. Muhammed Ali Serraf calls on Dr. Wolff—Dr. Wolff charges him with Neglect in not delivering the Letters of Sir Moses Montefiore and the Sultan—Muhammed Ali Serraf shows a Letter from Colonel Sheil to justify his Conduct. Date of the Execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Argument for 1258 Hejirah; 1259 the right date. Dr. Wolff regrets that the Sufferings of the Officers should have been so protracted, but cannot come, on reflection, to any other conclusion than 1259 Hejirah, 1843, A. D. Character of Colonel Sheil—Evil of appointing Envoys that are not of the Established Church—Singular Conduct of Colonel Sheil. Letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla. Christian Missions—Stations for them recommended at Semnan, Damghan, Nishapoor, Meshed, Hasrat-Sultan, Tashkand, Shamay, Yarkand, Cashgar, Eele, Thibet, and Cashmeer; not at present at Bokhara. Khokand, Cashmeer, Ladack, and Lasea—the Languages requisite: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Hindüstanee, Hebrew, and Kalmuck—Sciences and Arts. Conduct required in a Missionary—Missionaries in the East. Dialogue between Dr. Wolff and a Sooffee. Ameer Beyk, the Daoodee. *Route:* Askerea—Shereef Abad—Kadam-Gah—Nishapoor—Sabz-Awar. Curious Report circulated there, at the first visit of Dr. Wolff, that he was two hundred years old, and acquainted with all the Sciences of the Earth—Visited the second time by Crowds, who conceived he had predicted the recent Earthquake. *Route:* Massanan—Abbas Abad—Miyandasht—Miyamey; Dr. Cormick died at Miyamey—Death of Abbas Mirza—Illness of Dr. Wolff. Conversation between Sabhan Ullah Khan and Dr. Wolff. Letter from Colonel Sheil received en route. *Route:* Shah Rood—Deh-Mullah—Damghan—Dowlat Abad—Aghwan—Semnan—Lasgird—Deh Namak—Pah-Deh—Kish-Lagh. Arrival at Teheraun—Hospitable Reception by Colonel Sheil—Monsieur Le Comte Sartiges.

It is remarkable, that dissenters in doctrine are now prevailing largely in the Muhammedan religion. A Sayëd at Meshed began to teach that the *Koran* was quite enough, and pilgrimages unnecessary. This, in the great city of Imaum Resa, was extraordinary doctrine. This Imaum Resa was the

eighth of the twelve Imaums descended from Muhammed. He was killed at Meshed, by the son of Haroun Rashid, by a poisoned grape. Beside Imaum Resa, there is here interred Aboo Mosleem, the fiercest of all the conquerors of the Islam faith. A strong cry of heresy was raised against this Sayëd, but Mirza Askeree protected him. A fierce schism now prevails among the Sheahs at Meshed.

Muhammed Ali Serraf, Colonel Stoddart's agent, called on me again on my return. I reproached him for not having forwarded the letters of Sir Moses Montefiore and the Sultan from Colonel Sheil. He showed me, for his own justification, a letter from Colonel Sheil, in which he distinctly wrote to him that he should not forward the letters by an express messenger, but by some other opportunity. Colonel Sheil must have had peculiar reasons for giving him these instructions, of which I am not aware. He may have leaned to the conviction, that both Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were executed in the year 1258 Hejirah, or A. D. 1842.

I shall now give further details of this date question. Both the Nayeb and the King gave as the date, Sarratan, 1259, and after I had sent away the letter written to the Stoddart and Conolly Committee, by order of the king, in which this date was mentioned, Nayeb Abdul Samut Khan repeated again 1259; but counting the months since their death, brought it to twenty months instead of twelve. He numbered them on beads, as all the Persians do. I then said, "If twenty months have elapsed, the event must have taken place in the year 1258," for 1260 had just begun. The Nayeb then, after reflection, said with some hesitation, "Yes, you are right; and both the king and I were mistaken." I think it also fitting to add here, that I have my doubts whether the Nayeb did not desire to confuse the matter, for it may yet be a serious matter to him. I then asked several at Bokhara about the date, among others Saadat, and they gave 1258. Thus much may be said in favour of 1258, and that was

my impression in my excited state at Teheraun. But Haje Ibrahim, before my arrival at Bokhara, told me distinctly that the letter of Lord Ellenborough had arrived previous to the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. Now I counted at Bokhara the date of Sir R. Shakespeare's note, which accompanied Lord Ellenborough's letter, and that note was written, I well remember, only one year before my arrival. Now Haje Ibrahim would not have said that Lord Ellenborough's letter arrived before their execution, if it had not actually been the case; and adding to this, that Abbas Kouli Khan, as will be seen after my leaving Teheraun, decidedly said to me that they had been put to death only eleven months before my arrival; and besides that, the Assaff-ood-Dowla also, on my going to Bokhara told me the same thing,—it cannot be denied that the year 1259 is the true date; for though the Nayeb had not delivered, as I fully believe, the letter of Lord Ellenborough to the king, he (the Nayeb) yet received it before their death, and suppressed it from the fear of consequences to himself. With respect to Abdul Samut Khan's second assertion, that Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly were killed twenty months previous to my arrival, the date of their execution does not then agree with Saleh Muhammed's statement, who affirmed they were killed in June 1842. I arrived on April 1st, 1844; now counting backward twenty months, this brings the date to the September of 1842.

I much wish I could come to a different conclusion, since it would be more satisfactory to the painful feelings of many dear friends to learn that the misery of the unfortunate sufferers had not extended over so protracted a period of time, that the account of the Akhund-Zadeh was exact; since to reflect on two British officers, reduced to so horrible a state that the flesh was gnawed from their bones in large masses by vermin, with the fearful sufferings, mental and bodily, that they must have undergone by the slow operation of the atrocious tyranny practised upon them at the instigation of Abdul Samut Khan,

excites an intensity of feeling on my part almost maddening, and cannot produce an inferior feeling among those of their own flesh and blood.

And here let me take the opportunity to add a few words on the character of Colonel Sheil. He is evidently a gallant and honourable officer, who would serve his Queen with his blood; but his reserved disposition must prove painful to many. I once remarked this to the gentlemen of the embassy: "Colonel Sheil has not that pleasing communicativeness which is so conspicuous in Sir Stratford Canning." The answer I received was, that "I ought to consider that Sir Stratford Canning was ambassador, and Colonel Sheil only chargé d'affaires." I am also convinced that he will give protection to British subjects, and to Protestants in general, as far as his religious principles allow him, for he is a Roman Catholic. As an instance, I mention the following fact: The American missionaries, who have been always under the English protection, received the greatest hospitality from Colonel Sheil; but when they came in conflict with the Roman Catholic missionaries, though he believed the Protestant missionaries to be in the right, he candidly told them that he could not interfere, for he was a Roman Catholic. This is one evil of appointing a minister of a different religious persuasion to that established in the land,—an evil which the sagacity of the Archbishop of Canterbury detected at the passing of the Emancipation Bill. His Grace then stated that the Protestant missions must suffer from it.

As an instance, I may mention also the following fact, by which it will be seen that a Protestant clergyman must suffer considerably, even among the most liberal Roman Catholics, by such a circumstance. Colonel Sheil very liberally gave me permission to preach in the embassy, but he himself did not attend. Now the impression raised among the natives by this line of conduct is unfavourable to Christianity, who either say the Vizier Muchtar has no religion at all, or that he pays no regard to the Mullah of his country.

It will always remain to me an enigma why Colonel Sheil, though he admitted that Abdul Samut Khan was a villain, and though he was unfavourably impressed with the appearance of Haje Ibrahim his brother, nevertheless would never enter into details about him; and when I recommended him to get full information of the infamous character of Abdul Samut Khan from Mirza Abdul Wahab, he actually turned in a rude and insulting manner from Abdul Wahab. My estimate of Colonel Sheil's character will be fully established by every Englishman that knows him. His bilious maladies, however, and gout, must plead an apology for all this. He also acted completely the reverse of Sir S. Canning in the following affair. He knew fully, as well by Abbas Kouli Khan as by myself, how villanously I was treated by Dil Assa Khan; but he never for one moment thought of getting me any redress, or of punishing him through the medium of the Assaff-ood-Dowla; on the contrary, Sir S. Canning, when I told his Excellency that the ambassador who was designed to accompany me to England from Bokhara had taken from me money and a shawl, would have compelled him to restore every thing had I wished it.

I received, also, the following letter from the Assaff-ood-Dowla:

To the mighty in rank, of high family, the fellow-traveller of greatness and dignity, the chief of the great personages of the Christian faith, and the cream of the illustrious (followers) of the Messiah, the unique of the times, Padre Joseph Wolff; may he always be happy and delighted, and gratified by obtaining his objects and desires!

Be it known, that from excess of friendship, I was most anxious and desirous to see that great man; and it so happened, that when he returned from Bokhara to the Holy Land, I was not there, which was a source of regret and disappointment to me; but since that mighty person came to seek for peace and the increase of friendship and good understanding between both nations, I am much pleased and delighted.

If it pleased God, that great person, after returning to the seat

of Government, will always write an account of himself to me, as I am much gratified with his friendship. Salaam.

(Seal of Assaff-ood-Dowla.)

At this point of my travels I drew together the following view of Christian missions. During my journey to Bokhara, I tried to ascertain where new missionary stations might be established, and I believe that if some Christian-minded physicians were sent into Khorassaun, they might become eminently useful; for, since the invasion of Affghanistaun by the British army, the people of Khorassaun are rejoiced when they see an Englishman. I was frequently asked for copies of the Bible; and in the cities of Semnan, Damghan, Nishapoor, and Meshed, I was invited to open discussions about religion with the chief mullahs. The chief mullahs of Meshed sent actually presents of turquoises after me, through Colonel Sheil, when I had left the country. Writings published against Muhammedanism by the late missionary, Mr. Pfander, are read at Meshed and Nishapoor with eagerness. I therefore would advise persons to send Christian physicians to Semnan, Sharoot, and Meshed, to labour there among Muhammedans; and Jewish missionaries ought to be sent to the Jews of Mazanderaun. Dr. Thompson, at Damascus, who is sometimes visited by three thousand persons, as I was informed, has sufficiently proved the utility of a Christian physician among Muhammedans.

There are, also, in Khorassaun several mines, and the Assaff-ood-Dowla wishes to obtain miners from England. If, therefore, some persons of respectability acquainted with mining could be sent, they would prove highly useful.

From Khorassaun missionaries might easily extend their influence, accompanied by Jews, to the deserts of Sarakhs, Merw, Akhaul, and Khiva. Missionaries to Jews, as well as to Muhammedans, in the cities of Khokand, Hasrat-Sultan or Türkistaun, and Tashkand, would be hospitably received; for neither the Jews nor Muhammedans of those towns are

bigoted or intolerant. It is also remarkable that at Shamay, in Chinese Tartary, a colony of Polish Jews is found, amounting to three hundred families, who would hail the arrival of English people with delight, as I was assured by some of them whom I met at Bokhara. Yarkand is another city where a missionary to the Jews, as well as Muhammedans, would be of the greatest use, and also Cashgar and Eele. In the latter city, caravans from Russia deposit their merchandise. From Khokand, Tashkand, Türkistaun, and Cashgar, Bibles might be sent into Thibet and Cashmeer. The people of Thibet are also partially acquainted with the art of printing; if, therefore, printers and lithographers were sent to those parts, it might tend to further the promotion of the Gospel of Christ.

The question will be asked, "Could a mission be erected at Bokhara?" I reply, "Not under the present Ameer, for he is too capricious a tyrant; and though he has an ardent desire of knowing every thing, and gathers around him strangers, yet he does not allow them free egress and regress." In consequence, no respectable person will go there, and as long as Abdul Samut Khan is with him, Europeans would certainly perish. However, the son of the Ameer gives some hopes of being a better man than his father: on his accession to the throne a mission may be established.

The following places would be the best adapted for missions for Jews, heathens, and Muhammedans: Khokand, Cashmeer, Ladack, and Lassa. The following languages would be absolutely necessary: Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Chinese, Hindūstanese, Hebrew, and the Kalmuck. The following sciences and arts would be useful: medicine, astronomy, sacred and profane history, watch-making, and engineering. Missionaries might also make excursions from the above-mentioned places to the Kasaks, Ghirgese, Kaffer Seeah-Poosh, and to the tribes of Naphtali and Ashur, in the Hindū-Cush.

I think that a missionary in these countries should put on the garb of a derveesh, and take a cottage outside the town, when thousands would crowd around him to hear his wisdom. He must use hospitality, bring forth to the stranger bread and sherbet, pour rose-water on his head, present him with a rose, and delight him with the song of the nightingale. If he is distant in manner, no soul will come near him. They ought to be missionaries like Schauffler, Goodell, Dwight, Benjamin, Peabody, Jonas King, Bliss, Dr. Grant, Dr. Wilson, and Duff; for though I essentially differ with those gentlemen with regard to church government, I highly esteem their zeal, judgment, kind-heartedness, and perseverance. They are men not only willing to learn, but also to teach: they are, further, men not only willing to *teach* others, but also to be *taught* by others. Or if missionaries of the Episcopal church be sent, they ought to be like my late lamented friend the Rev. Mr. Leeves, chaplain of Athens, or the Rev. Mr. Hill, American Episcopal missionary at Athens.

One circumstance would much facilitate communion with the eastern Church, the complete union in sentiment on the doctrine of the real presence, as held by the Church of England. All the churches in the East, without exception, believe the *real spiritual presence of the body and blood of Christ.* Papas Yoet, now archimandrite at Jerusalem, told me in the year 1829, "That body which entered the room, though shut, filleth all in all. Why should he, who with clay cured the blind, not be able to impart his spiritual body and blood to the believer?" The Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia call the Sacrament also "*the Life.*" How Christ has been brought into the Sacrament I do not know; but this I know well, that the word of God cannot lie, which says that *it is the body of Christ.*

A few words more to the Missionary Societies. It often struck me, that the Missionary Societies never thought of

sending missionaries to the inhabitants of the Desert, though it may be done very easily. 1st. It might easily be effected in the desert around Mount Sinai, by stationing a missionary either in the convent of St. Catherine, situated upon Mount Horeb, where the monks for a small remuneration would give him board and lodging; or by building a missionary-house in the small village called Tor, the ancient Elim, whence he might make visits to the Bedūins of Akaba. 2nd. Another might be stationed at Suez and Cusseir. 3rd. Another at Karak, where there is a Christian settlement, and where Origen taught. 4th. Missionaries might be placed at Loheya, Hodeydah, Confooda, and Zubeyd in Yemen, on the coast of the Red Sea. 5th. Even in the interior of Yemen, near the city of Tayef, a missionary would find protection from the mighty Sheikhs of the Desert, since my friend Monsieur Botta, actual French consul at Mosul, has found most efficient protection from them in his physiological researches; and especially the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts ought to send missionaries to the Coptic and Abyssinian convents. Those missionaries ought to enter as members of the order, and thus try to benefit their fellow monks: by example and word Philip Melancthon sent young men to Rome, who entered the convent over which Ignatius Loyola presided, in order to convert the inmates to Protestantism. Some missionaries ought to be, like garrison troops, stationary; others, like light cavalry, resembling the Cossack hordes, ever ready in time of alarm and surprise, presenting themselves when no suspicion of their presence exists. The renowned Hetman of the Cossacks, Platow, furnishes no bad illustration. When the French supposed that he was at Halberstadt, he was in reality at Breslau. Where, again, do we not find a Jesuit, an order—despite their expulsions from every civilized or barbarian country, nearly fragmentally ubiquitous. "*Fas est ab hoste doceri.*"

I also confess that I do not like the style adopted by

missionaries, who, on their return from countries where they have preached, fill the ears of people at public meetings with accounts of the superstition and horrible ceremonies of the heathens, instead of showing that in the midst of the most absurd fables we can easily find traces of truth. Missionaries, instead of reporting superstitious sayings, should try to show the heathen, that, even in their own accounts, the verity of Holy Writ is established. Allusions to the account given of the first man, for example, as stated in Ovid, Met. i., 76.

> "Sanctius his animal mentisque capacius altæ
> Deerat adhuc et quod dominari in cætera posset.
> Natus homo est. Sive hunc divino semine fecit,
> Ille opifex rerum mundi melioris origo,
> Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
> Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cœli,
> Quam satus Japeto, mixtum fluvialibus undis
> Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum.
> Pronaque cum spectant animalia cætera terram,
> Os homini sublimi dedit: cœlumque tueri
> Jussit et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus."

Missionaries ought to prove to the heathen world that the Indian *Menu*, the Chinese *Fohi*, the Egyptian *Osiris*, the Chaldean *Oannes*, the Greek *Deucalion*, and the Italian *Saturnus* were one and the same person with Noah. Even in the offering of human sacrifices, the doctrine of Atonement may be discovered. To the Persians the missionary ought to prove that these ancient men occupied themselves deeply on the solution of the origin of evil. Zoroaster taught a state of primal innocence, and a subsequent fall of man.

While penning the above remarks, I read in the "Jewish Intelligencer" of June, page 223, under the head of 'Aleppo,' the following paragraph: "The Rev. Dr. Kerns arrived at his station in June last. A mission to the Jews being quite a new thing at Aleppo, the idea of converting the Jews had never entered their mind."

Now if persons consult the first volume of my Mission to Aleppo of 1822-24, and the Reports of the Jews' Society of those years, they will perceive that I preached there, even one day before the earthquake; and again in 1824, when I lived partly with the English Consul-general, and partly with Mr. Masseyk, when I had thousands of Jews and Gentiles with me. There exists not a single missionary station in the East where I have not been. It is also matter of notoriety at Aleppo, that a Jew was murdered for having confessed Christ in the presence of the Jews. After this circumstance he was found with his throat cut on the following morning.

A Sooffee called on me while at Meshed, and said, "Youssuff Wolff, do you think that religion is necessary to a wise man?" I replied, "My dear friend, he only is a wise man who feels and is convinced that religion is the only means of giving support to helpless nature; and all the sages of every age have taught us, with one consent, that knowledge which has only for its object terrestrial things, is not worthy of that name. And understand, that God manifests himself to the heart, and hides himself from those who seek Him with their reason only. Faith, and obedience to God's laws, are wings of the soul, by which it is able to soar up to God's presence; and whenever human nature decays and degenerates, divine knowledge disappears."

Sooffee. What do you think of our prophet Muhammed, and of his religion?

W. Muhammed is a prophet without miracles, and therefore a false one; his system is a faith without mysteries, and therefore not a divine one; and a morality without love, and therefore a devilish morality. Christianity takes hold of the heart in order to make it better; Muhammedanism takes hold of the heart in order to make it worse.

After we had stopped at Meshed for twenty-one days, another gholam arrived for me with letters from Colonel Sheil.

The name of that gholam was Ameer Beyk, who, in the year 1838, was seized by the Tūrkomauns in carrying despatches for Sir John Mc Neill from Colonel Stoddart, at Heraut. He tried to escape twice from Khiva; the second time he was brought back, and had his ears cropped close to his head. He was afterwards purchased by Abbott, and he enjoys a pension from the British government for the loss of his ears. He is not a Muhammedan, but a Daoodee, *i. e.* of a sect who believe that king David was a god. He was of very great use to me. We set out, together with Abbas Kouli Khan, the two Bokhara ambassadors, and Mullah Mehdee the Jew, for Teheraun. The Jews of Meshed and many Muhammedans accompanied me out of town.

We stopped the first day at Askerea, a village belonging to Mirza Askeree, the Imaum Ajooma of Meshed. It contains about twenty houses, and is about five English miles from Meshed.

From thence we proceeded to Shereef-Abad, a place where, fourteen years ago, I was obliged to remain for several days on account of the wandering Hazārah, a Mogul tribe who reside near Heraut, and invaded at that time Khorassaun in order to make slaves. Now Shereef-Abad contains about twenty houses, and is situated between two mountains, and is very cold. A messenger came there from the Assaff-ood-Dowla to welcome me, and made me a present of a shawl. The two ambassadors from Bokhara,—the one who was to accompany me to England, and the other who was sent to Muhammed Shah,—were quite surprised that the Assaff paid to me such attention. From Shereef-Abad we continued our journey to Kadam-Gah, which means 'place of the foot,'—for the footprint of Imaum Resa, the patron saint of Meshed and Khorassaun, is still pointed out there; and it is therefore a famous place of pilgrimage for the Muhammedans. The inhabitants of that place are descendants of the family of Muhammed, and therefore they cannot be forced by government to entertain a stranger; but they treated me both times with great

respect and hospitality, and many of them wished me to send to them the Gospel. Several of them asked me seriously, "When will the English come and take this country?"

Kadam-Gah contains also a strong castle. From Kadam-Gah we arrived at Nishapoor, twenty miles distant from the former place, considered, after Balkh, in their traditions, the most ancient town in the world, and it was formerly the place of residency of the king. There are several iron mines in this place. It was destroyed by Tamerlane. The surrounding country is most lovely.

We proceeded thence to Sabz-Awar, which contains about six thousand inhabitants, and a good many shops. When I was there on my way to Bokhara, a rumour was spread that I was two hundred years of age, and acquainted with all the sciences upon earth; so that the whole town naturally rushed out to look on such a prodigy. When I told them that I was only forty-eight, they declared me to be a great liar. However, on my second arrival, I was again visited by crowds of Mussulmans, among whom was a chief mullah, who considered me to be a prophet; for I told him on my way to Bokhara, that, previous to the coming of our Lord Jesus, there would be earthquakes in Khorassaun and all over the world. And as a terrible earthquake—of which I have given a description—actually happened, it was considered as a part of my prediction. Even some of them declared me to be Baba Elias, a celebrated derveesh. I contradicted none of these rumours, for it is useless to attempt it. Khorassaun rings with the praises of Sir John Mc Neill and Sir John Campbell.

From Sabz-Awar we proceeded to Massanan, which has a fine caravanseray, built by Shah Abbas. It has excellent wells, and is highly cultivated. They have there several guns, on account of the Tūrkomauns, whenever they come from Astarabad to make *chapow*.

Thence we passed to Abbas-Abad, inhabited by descend-

ants of Georgians, brought there from Tiflis by Shah Abbas. They have many privileges peculiar to the place, confirmed by firmauns from Shah Abbas, Nadir Shah, Abbas Mirza, and Muhammed Shah. They profess now the Muhammedan religion, except fifteen families of them, who are, in secret, Christians.

We then proceeded to Miyandasht, a little place built by the present king of Persia; and from thence to Miyamey, a beautiful caravanseray. Here Dr. Cormick died, who was an Irish gentleman, and favourite physician to Abbas Mirza. He was an excellent but eccentric man. He was married to a Georgian by the famous Henry Martin, and, strange to say, never acknowledged it; but after his death, his wife produced a certificate from Henry Martin, proving that she was married to him. Dr. Cormick resided at Tabreez with Abbas Mirza. When Abbas Mirza marched toward Khorassaun, he left Dr. Cormick at Tabreez; but when the prince saw that his stay in Khorassaun would be prolonged, he wrote to Dr. Cormick to join him. He obeyed; but arriving at Miyamey, he was seized with a violent fever, which killed him in twelve hours. He left about twenty thousand pounds for his wife and children. When Abbas Mirza was informed of the death of his medical friend, he said, "Now all is over with me: I shall soon follow;" and his royal Highness died a few weeks after.

During our journey on to Teheraun, Sabhan Ullah Khan, ambassador of the king of Bokhara to Muhammed Shah, came every day to me, for I had taken up my quarters at a distance from the rest, being too much indisposed to see any one. My mind was overpowered with despondency and melancholy. I was bled almost every other day, and took a medicine which they have in Khorassaun, called Sheer-khishk, a kind of powerful manna. I scarcely had strength enough to talk. In this enfeebled state, I could not but note all that partook of those internal sensations I myself experienced; and the Hindoo Fakeer who accompanied me from Bokhara naturally

attracted much of my attention, from the obvious feelings that filled his heart. He lived such a life of penance and hardship as I can never forget. How has this consciousness of sin sate in gloomy bodement on men in every age! How has it, as Claudius says, covered the earth with altars, hermitages, temples, pagodas, mosques, and monasteries! Anxious from the divine afflatus within them, conscious of their origin, men have constantly desired to disburden themselves of the chains that surround them. They have exhausted inventions in order to regain the life they have lost. But to be restored to that life, we must eat of that bread from heaven which the Father has given us.

I give herewith a list of distinguished missionaries I met with during my missionary peregrinations in the East. The first excellent missionaries I met with in 1821 were at Gibraltar; these were two Wesleyan missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Rees, and the Rev. Mr. Croscombe,—laborious, active, and well-principled gentlemen. In the year 1821-22 I was the only missionary in Palestine; but in the year 1823 I joined two excellent missionaries from America, Messieurs Pliny Fisk and Jonas King, both of them holy men: they were American congregationalists. In the year 1825 I met at Shooshee one of the most extraordinary men among the missionaries of the Basle Missionary Societies; *i. e.* Felician Count of Zaremba. He was formerly private secretary to Count Capo d'Istria, when Prime-minister to the Emperor Alexander. He experienced a decidedly religious change, by perusing the life of Jung Stilling. He is certainly, excepting August Dittrich, now superintendent of the Lutherans at Moscow, one of the most holy men I ever met with among missionaries, and at the same time endowed with gifts of the highest description. The above-mentioned August Dittrich was private tutor to Count Einsiedlen, at Dresden: he was a fellow-pupil of mine under Professor Lee, at Cambridge: he is a gentleman of the most extraordinary talent. In 1825

I met at Tiflis, Saltet; at Karrass, Pfander, Kœnig, Galloway, Lang, and Dickson, pious, disinterested, and good men. In 1828, at Malta, the Rev. C. Schlienz, a pious, industrious, talented, and active gentleman. At Corfu, the talented Mr. Hildner. In 1829 I made the acquaintance of the amiable and good-natured Theodore Mueller, who, though of a weakly constitution, had accompanied the expedition of the Niger: he is now a clergyman of the church of England. In the year 1832 I met in India among the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, the worthy and disinterested Leupold, Knorp, and Smith, at Benares,—Sandys, at Calcutta,—Weitprecht, Linke, and others, at Burdwan,—Rhenius, Schaffter, and Mueller, at Tinnivelly,—Michel, at Bombay.

Of the missionaries of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, I made the acquaintance of many worthy gentlemen, as Doctor Rottler and Mr. Irvin, at Madras,—Thompson and Schreyvogel, at Trichinopoly, and others of the Baptists. I met with Thompson at Tinnivelly,—Carey, Marshman, and the rest, at Serampore. Of the Scotch kirk I made the friendship of the great and excellent Doctors Duff, Wilson, and Stevens, and the Rev. Mr. Nisbett. I also must not omit mentioning Mr. Candy. In 1845 I also admired the zeal of Messieurs Goodell, Dwight, Schauffler at Constantinople, Temple at Smyrna; and others, as I have already mentioned, viz. the excellent Mr. Leeves, Hill, &c. The mission in Egypt seemed to me to be in an improved state; but that in Abyssinia was in a most despicable condition.

On the route, the following kind letter reached me from Colonel Sheil:

My dear Sir, Oct. 18.

As the person who brought your note is returning, I write to say that I am happy to find you will reach Tehran in three days, and that your appetite and strength are increasing.

Should you require bleeding, any village barber is competent to the performance of the operation.

Your old quarters are ready for you.

Very truly yours,

JUSTIN SHEIL.

Sabhan Ullah Khan continued to come every day to see me, and on one occasion he spoke to me in the following manner: "I can assure you also of what the Kazi Kelaun has told you, and I know it, that Stoddart and Conolly were put to death at the instigation of Abdul Samut Khan. He was the mediator between Hasrat and them."

I arrived next at Shah-Rood, 'river of the king.' Stoddart's name is well remembered here. They call him the *Rashid*, the 'brave man.'

Our next point was Deh-Mullah, one of Sultan Mahmoud's villages; but it has beautiful gardens. Thence we passed to Damghan, a most ancient town, in great part ruinous. There are poisonous bugs here, which kill strangers. We then reached Dowlat-Abad and Aghwan, and at last Semnan, where a room was given to me in the palace of the Prince-governor, who was absent at the time of my visit. These beautiful palaces sink here to ruin; for as the governors do not know how long they may be allowed to remain, they think it scarcely worth while to improve their dwellings. Jews from Mazanderaun called on me here. They are better off than in other parts of Persia; and the Persians relate of the Jews of Mazanderaun, that they are almost better off than the Muhammedans, for they blacken twice a-day their beards with henna.

We arrived next at Lasgird, a place with a most ancient castle, said to be built by the Deeves (fairies). Thence to Deh Namak, Pah-Deh, and Kish-Lagh, where I found a horse sent for me by Colonel Sheil, and soon after the excellent Mr. Reed came to welcome me, and Mr. Karapet, an Armenian, who was the apothecary in the British residency; and at last

we arrived at Teheraun, where I met with a hospitable reception by Colonel Sheil, the British envoy.

I also met there with Messrs. Thomson and Glen, the attachés to the embassy, and Mr. Abbott, the British consul. As the king and his Majesty's prime-minister were going out hunting, Colonel Sheil and the attachés accompanied them; whilst I remained at the embassy, and received the visit of Monsieur le Comte Sartiges, chargé d'affaires to the king of the French, who was sent there in order to effect the reinstatement of the Lazaristes in Persia. I spoke to him that he should write in my name to the King of the French, that I ardently wished that France should join England in the endeavour to effect the liberation of the two hundred thousand Persian slaves in Bokhara. He also told me that it was considered great courage on my part to address a letter to all the European Powers from the city of Bokhara in behalf of the slaves. I also received a visit from the French Lazariste, Monsieur Clusel, who appeared to me to be a very zealous man. The Lazaristes were established by that ardent philanthropist Vincent de Paul, who sighed in slavery at Tunis, whence he escaped with his master, whom he had converted to the Christian faith. Monsieur Clusel intends to establish his mission at Teheraun, or Isfahan.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Dr. Wolff preaches at the Embassy. Noble Conduct of Count Medem. Colonel Sheil refuses to return the Letter of Lord Ellenborough. Kindness of the Russian Embassy—Khosrow Khan—Dr. Wolff writes to the Ameer. Reception by the Shah—Dr. Wolff thanks his Majesty for his Life—His Life twice preserved by the Court of Persia—Autograph of the Shah—Mullah Bahram, the Guebre. Colonel Sheil demands the Date of the Execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly—Dr. Wolff gives 1258 Hejirah—Abbas Kouli Khan thinks it was 1259—Dr. Wolff, on further reflection, coincides with Abbas Kouli Khan. Persia could not, under existing circumstances, take Bokhara. Mirza Abdul Wahab. Letter of Abbas Kouli Khan to Lady Georgiana Wolff—Kindness of the Embassy to Dr. Wolff. Armenian Church —Recourse had to the Russian Embassy, and not to the British, by the Protestant Missionaries. Count Medem visits Abbas Kouli Khan, and thanks him for his Kindness to Dr. Wolff. Visit of Dr. Wolff to the Haje, the Prime-minister of the Shah—their Conversation—Haje Ibrahim demands six thousand Tillahs—Dr. Wolff takes an Oath that he never received this Sum—Dr. Wolff pays him three thousand Tillahs, and draws on Captain Grover for four hundred Pounds. Haje Ibrahim claims three thousand Tillahs as due from Conolly—Dr. Wolff protests against this Payment, and thinks Colonel Sheil ought to have refused to pay Haje Ibrahim any thing for either himself or Captain Conolly. Letter from the Queen to the King of Bokhara. Visit to Haje Baba. Inexplicable Conduct of Colonel Sheil. Rajab, the servant to Colonel Stoddart.

Now I may write again dates, for, having arrived at Teheraun, which is the Rages of Tobit, I was informed that it was the 3rd of November. On the 4th of November Colonel Sheil allowed me to preach in the embassy, though he himself, being a Roman Catholic, did not come.

Count Medem, the Russian ambassador, behaved most nobly towards me. He not only invited me to preach in his house in German, on which occasion his Excellency and all his attachés attended, but he also made me a present of two

shawls, and gave me a public dinner, to which he invited Colonel Sheil, all the British attachés, Count Sartiges, Abbas Kouli Khan, Monsieur Labat, the king's physician, &c.; and during my stay at Bokhara, he wrote to Count Nesselrode about me. Count Sartiges gave also a public dinner to me, to which he invited the British embassy.

I must here remark, that having been very unwell at Meshed, I sent on before me to Colonel Sheil Lord Ellenborough's letter, given to me by the Ameer of Bokhara, and other documents from Conolly to the Ameer. A few days after my arrival at Teheraun, when Colonel Sheil came back from the sporting expedition, and he was in his office, I wrote to him from my room, on a piece of paper,—

Dear Sir,

Would you be kind enough to give me back Lord Ellenborough's letter, and the other documents of Conolly?

and sent the note by his servant; to which he wrote in his own hand-writing, upon a piece of paper, the following answer, which I have still in my possession:

Lord Ellenborough's letter is the property of Government, as well as all other official documents.

As I dislike to create any dissension, I of course submitted to his judgment; and beside this, I did not wish to be embroiled with the government at home. I cannot also but remark, that the kindness shown to me by the Russian ambassador at Teheraun was unbounded; so much so, that even Mullah Mehdee, the Jew, and persons in authority at Teheraun, all said "the Russians are by far kinder to you than your own people, the English." I have good authority to say, that had I been a Russian subject, the Russian government would not have suffered me to pay one farthing to Abdul Samut Khan's brother.

But Colonel Sheil, beside that, did not send forward to Captain Grover the note of Sir R. Shakespeare which accompanied Lord Ellenborough's letter.

I have already mentioned that I had a friend at Teheraun, whose name is Khosrow Khan, chief eunuch to Futt Ali Shah. He occupied several high functions under that monarch, as, for instance, the place of governor of Isfahan, and at another time Geelaun; but now, being out of favour with the Haje, is out of favour with the king. On my first arrival at Teheraun, he called on me; but as Colonel Sheil did not come to see him in my room, he refused to call on my second visit, and therefore I called on him. He is, like all the Georgians, secretly attached to the Christian religion, but he is somewhat of a Swedenborgian. He always affects to see some saint of olden time. When I last saw him, he told me, with great earnestness, that he had lately seen, and even conversed with Samuel the Prophet, who had a little beard, completely white, and beautiful blue eyes, and that he was a man of powerful figure, but low. He also saw Moses, who had a most powerful voice, and had a great resemblance in his outward appearance to the late king, Futt Ali Shah. He never smiled, he said, and was greatly incensed at the ingratitude of the Jews towards him.

I took the opportunity while here of writing a full account to the Ameer of Bokhara of my notions of his own conduct, and a complete exposure of the villany of Abdul Samut Khan.

My reception by the Shah was most gracious. When I entered the presence of the Shah, introduced by Mr. Thomson, he smilingly said, "Now you have enough of Bokhara: you will not go again to that city in a hurry." I replied, "Twice have I been saved from danger by the gracious assistance of the Persian government. Twelve years ago, from the hands of Muhammed Khan Kerahe by your Majesty's father, and from the Ameer of Bokhara by your Majesty." He then asked me why I had cut off my beard? I told his Majesty that it had given me too much trouble, on which he laughed heartily. I also requested his Majesty to give me his autograph, upon which he wrote the following lines:

Praise be to God, Mr. Wolff is rescued; and may he go in safety to London to his wife.

Verse.

Two friends know each other's worth, when their intercourse has been interrupted for some time and they again meet.

The Month of Shevval, 1260 of the Hejirah.

Written by the Shah of Persia, and presented to Dr. Wolff at his audience on his return from Bokhara.

Mullah Bahram, the chief of the Guebres, and who managed all matters for my departure twelve years ago, called on me. He told me that the Haje Mirza Agasee was a great friend to the Guebres, and had built them a village, four miles from Teheraun, of which he had made him overseer.

On my arrival, Colonel Sheil asked me whether Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly had been put to death in 1259 of the Hejira, or 1258. I told him that the Nayeb had said 1259, but that twenty months had elapsed between the time of my arrival and their execution. I told him, on a second occasion, that according to this calculation the execution was in 1258, to which he agreed. Others also said at Bokhara that it was 1258. Colonel Sheil desired me to give him a statement to that effect in writing, which I did.

On leaving, however, for Tabreez, Abbas Kouli Khan and myself had some conversation on this subject, and he then said, "I made most accurate inquiries, pursuant to my official instructions. You may depend upon it that the information I have obtained about their execution is more correct than your own. Stoddart and Conolly were put to death eleven months before your arrival." He then emphatically added, "They were put to death, as the Nayeb told you at the first, in the year 1259, and not 1258." And as it is certain that Shakespeare's note, with the letter of Lord Ellenborough, arrived before their execution, the information of Abbas Kouli Khan, and the first official statement of the king and Abdul Samut Khan, is correct. I therefore regretted

that I gave the paper to Colonel Sheil, which should not have been demanded from me when I was in a state of the greatest excitement, ill and miserable, and attended by Dr. Kade, the physician of the Russian embassy.

It may be asked, If Persia proceeds to Bokhara alone, without the assistance of either Russia or England, will she take Bokhara? My reply is, her success is very doubtful, for the following reasons: First, it could only be effectually done by an order and full power given to the Assaff-ood-Dowla; but the Assaff-ood-Dowla and the Haje Mirza Agasee are deadly enemies, and each jealous of the other; so that they would counteract each other, as they did during the siege of Heraut. Besides this, the officers themselves are very jealous of each other. They would agree to no general combined plan, and therefore they would mutually betray each other's plans to the Ameer of Bokhara. Also Muhammed Shah is afraid of the Assaff-ood-Dowla; and I know for a certainty, upon the best authority, that the king has a most well-founded suspicion that the Assaff-ood-Dowla entertains the design of making himself, if not king of all Persia, at least of Khorassaun.

I must here observe, that I paid at Teheraun thirty tomauns to Mirza Abdul Wahab, the painter, for his work for me; for though the Nayeb included him in his account, he had not in reality given him one single farthing.

I must here repeat, that the kindness of Count Medem, the Russian ambassador, can never be obliterated from my memory. Abbas Kouli Khan also made me a present of two Cashmeer shawls for Lady Georgiana. He also sent to her the following kind and truly Eastern letter:—

Translation of a Letter from the Persian Envoy to Bokhara to the Lady Georgiana Wolff.

May my exalted and esteemed sister, whose station is as that of Bilbeis (Queen of Sheba), the respected and dear lady of my friend and brother, the Reverend Joseph Wolff, enjoy good health. Five months ago, according to the desire of his Excellency the

Doctor, I addressed a letter to you, my esteemed sister, and I assured you that I would bring with me, with honour and respect, and in perfect safety, my friend and brother the Doctor. Praise be to God, praise be to God, praise be to God! eight days previous to the date of this, which is the 16th Shevval, I brought him to Teheraun. I give praise and I am thankful to God, that I have had no cause to be ashamed before you, my sister. The gentleman will himself, please God, arrive soon in London, and he will acquaint you, my sister, verbally, with what has occurred. You will then perceive how I have acted as a brother. I hope that you, my respected sister, will not forget me. May your letters always reach me in Persia.

(Signed) ABBAS KOULI KHAN, KOORD,
16th Shevval, 1260. *Sirteeb, (Colonel).*

Count Medem invited me to preach in his house, as I have said, in German, before the entire Russian embassy, proffered pecuniary assistance, which I declined, also to send on his own gholam to Tabreez, and recommended me to all the Russian authorities and to his Imperial master. However, I must say that Mr. Thomson and the excellent Mr. Reed were exceedingly kind to me, as well as Mrs. Reed; and I must also say, that Messrs. Thomson, Glen, and Abbott rendered me every assistance in their power.

In preaching in such regions I always took occasion to efface, if possible, these unnatural distinctions of caste and class that are so prevalent in the East. However dreadful, it is yet certain that a similar want of charity to that which led the Samaritan to deny drink to a Jew, prevails to a large extent in the East. It would be equal matter of surprise with me to see a Persian ask a drop of water of a Jew, or an Armenian or a Guebre, or even of an Englishman. It would be full as surprising also to see a Sikh or a Hindoo ask a drop of water of an Englishman, or a Brahmin from a Paria. Nor even in the United States will an American sit down with a black man.

I now proceed to speak of the Armenians. Hoannes Sur-

renno Krimetzki, archbishop of Julfa, Hindūstaun, and Teheraun, called on me, covered with Russian orders. He is a venerable old gentleman, and anxious to improve the Armenian nation. He has established a school at Julfa, where the Armenian boys are instructed in the English, French, and Armenian tongues. He receives contributions for that purpose from Russia, Armenia, and from the Armenians of Hindūstaun and Yava. "I was frequently advised to send Armenian youths to England and France," he observed; "but the danger of sending them there is: 1st. that they forget their own language; 2nd. they become spoiled by good living; and then return discontented with their own country. I thought it therefore more advisable to instruct them in their own country in foreign sciences, where, at the same time, they do not forget their own language, and put up with the hardships of their countrymen."

The Eastern churches have deacons in the most scriptural sense of the word, for they are chosen by the people, consecrated by the bishops, and they are seldom allowed to preach; but have simply to raise alms, to provide for the poor and sick, and to make arrangements for the internal management of the churches. This occupation of the deacons is obviously derived by the apostles from the Jewish synagogue. I must also observe, that there is far greater liberality and licence in preaching in the Eastern and Roman Catholic churches than in the British. It is a fact, that in the Eastern, as well as in Roman Catholic communities, simple laymen, without ordination at all, are allowed to preach in the church, with the especial licence of the bishop. Thus, for example, Ignatius Loyola and the Jesuits preached without ordination, on the simple permission of the Pope.

It must be observed, that Count Medem gives most efficient protection to the Armenians throughout Persia, and also to the Chaldeans residing in Oroomiah; and when the Chaldean Nestorians of that place were oppressed by the Roman Catholic missionaries, he put a stop to it. The Protestant

missionaries of Oroomiah are also protected, and they recur to the Russian embassy for protection in case of need. Formerly they had recourse to the British embassy.

I was delighted to perceive that Count Medem called instantly on Abbas Kouli Khan, thanked him for his kindness to me, and invited him to dinner. I cannot avoid saying that Mr. and Mrs. Reed, whom I knew in Persia fourteen years previously, form the very life of the embassy, which would be dulness itself without them. I must not omit to mention the kindness of General Semino: he is alluded to before in this work.

I also called on the Haje, and thanked him. He told me that it would have been well if I had waited, according to his advice, at Teheraun until Abbas Kouli Khan had reached me there; for my protection would have been stronger—my suffering less. This Persian Wolsey is very fond, as our own was, of building palaces, and also villages. When the former ambassador from Bokhara left Teheraun, he sent word to the Ameer: "How can the Ameer dream of making war with Khiva? Khiva belongs to me." He evidently does not like the English; and he once made the following observation to an English gentleman, whose name I forbear to mention: "I know your English fashion. You first of all send a physician to a country to feel our pulse, and afterwards a surgeon to bleed us to death; and then officers follow, and they dispose of our land as the others have done of our bodies."

I met at Teheraun M. l'Abbé Clusel, of the Lazariste order, who was sent as missionary to Persia by the Propaganda. He seems to me a man of zeal and piety.

Before quitting this city, I called on Mirza Abdul Hassan Khan, the Haje Baba of Morier, and the Secretary for Foreign affairs to the court of Persia. Haje, though looking older, is cheerfulness itself.

Previous to my departure, Haje Ibrahim, brother to Abdul Samut Khan, arrived for the six thousand tillahs. I took an oath that I never received three thousand tillahs of this

amount; and though, of the three thousand tillahs entrusted to me, above six hundred were partly stolen on the road, and partly went on account of the Nayeb's camels, as above mentioned, I repaid him the whole of the three thousand; to do which I was obliged to draw for four hundred pounds on my dear and excellent friend, Captain Grover. Haje Ibrahim also applied for the three thousand tillahs of Conolly; but against this I put in my protest, and I have it on the highest authority that, had I been under the Russian flag, I should not have been called on to pay Haje Ibrahim one single farthing; and I might have got, as an indemnification, the whole of the sum entrusted to me by Abdul Samut Khan, as I was through his instigation imprisoned in Bokhara, and ill treated on the road. And Persians, as well as other personages of high importance, were surprised that Colonel Sheil did not insist upon the arrest of Haje Ibrahim, in order to hear all, even the minutest circumstances, of the execution of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, in which dark transaction Haje Ibrahim was deeply involved. Instead of which, Colonel Sheil suffered that villain to annoy me in my room, demanding twenty per cent. for the money, until I took him by the throat and turned him out. Ill, miserable, bilious, and excited, I still bore up against all; but these things soon had issue in a dangerous and delirious illness on my arrival at Tabreez, in the house of the excellent Mr. Bonham. But of this more hereafter. I have only here to add, that if Government pays the debt of Conolly to Abdul Samut Khan, they will pay a premium to that villain for the murder of other Englishmen, and for the robbery of their fellow-citizens.

One thing appeared to me very extraordinary; that Colonel Sheil said to me, in the presence of Mr. Glen and Mr. Thomson, that he would recommend government to pay to Abdul Samut Khan one hundred tillahs for the letter of Lord Ellenborough. I asked why? For according to Shakespeare's note, the one hundred tillahs were to be paid to the bearer after he had brought an answer from the Ameer to the Go-

vernor-general. Now, not only was no answer given, but, as shown above, the letter was not delivered to the Ameer until after my arrival. I here say such conduct is utterly inexplicable.

I told Colonel Sheil, one day, that a letter had arrived from her Majesty Queen Victoria, and inquired why the king of Bokhara had not received it? All the answer I received from Colonel Sheil, in the presence of Mr. Thomson, was, "You are not at liberty to say that a letter has come from her Majesty or not."

The more I reflect on Colonel Sheil's conduct, the more do I perceive his culpable neglect and indifference. On my arrival at Teheraun from England, he told me that he had kept in the embassy Rajab, late servant to Colonel Stoddart, who was ready to accompany me to Bokhara. Rajab was from Meshed. As soon as he had arrived with me at Meshed, he expressed his fears, as I have stated, of accompanying me to Bokhara; I, however, prevailed upon him to accompany me as far as Mowr, whence he returned to Meshed, where I met Rajab again, who was on his way to Teheraun in order to obtain one hundred and fifty tomauns which Colonel Sheil owed to him. Now Rajab told me at Meshed, in the presence of Ameer Beg, and Mirza Abdul Wahab, and Abbas Kouli Khan, that that infamous fellow *Abdullah* said to the people at Meshed in the public market-place: "Abdul Samut Khan seized hold of my robe and said: 'Kill this Englishman on the road; *do not suffer him to go alive to his country.*'" Mirza Abdul Wahab, the Persian painter, also affirmed that Abdul Samut Khan had said the same. I desired, therefore, Colonel Sheil to examine Rajab about it, for he arrived fourteen days before me at Teheraun, and I gave carefully a letter to that effect to Rajab for Colonel Sheil: but Colonel Sheil never even admitted Rajab to his presence, and when I brought Mirza Abdullah Wahab to him, he walked away as fast as possible. How differently did Sir Stratford Canning act. When I informed him of Abdul Samut Khan's conduct,

his Excellency said: "Why did you not propose to the Ameer to send Abdul Samut Khan as ambassador?"

When I told Colonel Sheil at table that Abdul Samut Khan was anxious that I should be killed on the road, and that the murderers should bring back the money to him, for which he offered them a reward, though I further assured him that Abdullah himself had told me that he was under a promise to go back to Bokhara to Abdul Samut Khan for some great purpose, which he said in a most diabolical sneering tone, Colonel Sheil, in a very dogmatical manner, answered me that he could not believe that Abdul Samut Khan intended to murder me, as he had given me the money to deliver to him (Colonel Sheil). I then said, "He was in expectation of being paid back double by government, as he had a receipt for it." To this Colonel Sheil replied, "Abdul Samut Khan had not yet been repaid the money lent to Conolly, though three years had elapsed since he had given that officer the money." I then said, "that he had got back the money from Conolly, and besides that, was in possession of the receipt of Conolly, which he never sent until Haje Ibrahim arrived with it after me at Meshed; so that he was sure of the money."

And that he was sure is apparent by the fact, that the moment Haje Ibrahim produced the receipt, Colonel Sheil said to me, "This money must be paid." So that it is certain, and Abdul Samut Khan was too much in India not to know well, especially as he did not expect that I should return to Bokhara, that the money was his own. Besides that, he did not desire to get back the principal that he lent to Conolly, but twenty per cent. profit, and the longer he waited the more he got. And even the twenty per cent. profit he did not want for himself, but for his son Abdullah Khan, who was four years of age; and Haje Ibrahim was not so much sent to Teheraun to get the money, as to be sure that at last the interest might be paid to Abdul Samut Khan's son. However singular, the crafty Nayeb considered the British

government more trustworthy than his own, since at Bokhara there is no security for life, limb, or property. He also relied on that perpetual mystification of Colonel Sheil continuing, which he practises successfully, I believe, up to the present moment.

To show that I bore no ill will to Colonel Sheil, I empower herewith Lord Aberdeen to produce the private and confidential letter I wrote to his lordship from Teheraun, on my way to Bokhara, in which I tried to justify the steps adopted by Colonel Sheil previous to my departure from England for the liberation of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, on the plea of the people of Persia feeling a particular horror to go to Bokhara. But his refusal to give me a letter for the Ameer, and tendering me a letter of introduction instead of it to those consummate rascals Abdul Samut Khan and his brother Haje Ibrahim, whose character he might have known by the description given of him by Mr. Masson, and by Lieut. Colonel Sir Claude Martin Wade, now at Ryde, who was thirty-five years in India, and who was compelled to expel Abdul Samut Khan from Peshawr on account of his intrigues. His unwillingness to hear further information about Abdul Samut Khan from me, made me justly suspect that there was something behind the scenes which I could not fathom; and I call on the British nation to have this matter brought before proper authority, in order that Colonel Sheil and myself may stand face to face before that tribunal, and I shall call on him to reply to my demand why he had not taken better precautions for the liberation of Colonel Stoddart, Captain Conolly, and Lieutenant Wyburd and others, and why he was so reluctant to hear any thing about the former matter after my return from Bokhara in possession of information, which he had not the courage personally to procure, nor even the ability to get at it second-hand. I should be glad to see our envoy confront the Ameer as I have done, and as Sir Stratford Canning would do forthwith, and far more ably, were he at Teheraun and not at Constantinople.

CHAPTER XXV.

Departure from Teheraun. *Route:* Kand—Sunghur-Abad—Sepher-Khoja. Meeting here with Assaad Ullah Beyk. *Route:* Casween—Sultanieh—Sanjoon—Gul-Teppa. Illness of Dr. Wolff—Kind Reception of Dr. Wolff at Tabreez by Mr. Bonham; his Treatment by Dr. Casolani. Mr. Osroff and the Russian Legation. Introduction of Dr. Wolff by Mr. Bonham to Prince Bahman Mirza—the Prince presents Dr. Wolff with a valuable Emerald Ring. Letter of Prince Bahman Mirza. Russian Inhabitants of Tabreez consider it disgraceful to the British Government to permit the Stoddart and Conolly Affair to rest in its present position—Extracts showing the exact Position of these Diplomatic Agents—First, from Captain J. Conolly, Brother to the murdered Captain Conolly; Second, Extracts from the Correspondents of Colonel Stoddart; Third, Extract from the Journal of Captain Conolly—Impolicy of Non-interference. Holy Places visited by Persians. Dispute between Turks and Persians on Frontier Question. Colonel Taylor and Major Rawlinson. Disciples of John the Baptist—their singular History—their Report of themselves, that they are Descendants of the Chaldeans and of the Brothers of Abraham. Triple Name of God—Baptism of John in the Wilderness. Two kinds of Priests; one the Representative of the Baptist, the other of the Christ—their Book, the *Sadra Raba*—reported Authors of it Seth and John the Baptist—their Residences—Fruitless attempts of Father Agatangelos to convert the Mandaye, or Disciples of John the Baptist. Dr. Wolff, however, establishes a School, which the Son of even the Ganz-Awra, or Representative of Jesus Christ, attends—they affirm Boohyra to have been a Nestorian Monk; also that they emigrated from Egypt with the Jews, and separated from them on the Institution of the Rite of Circumcision by Joshua—their Language Chaldean. The Ganz-Awra has his right Hand cut off by order of the Governor of Bosra—he maintained that numbers of their Sect were resident in Morocco. Catholicity shown to be a natural Principle from the Conduct of Sectarians.

On the 7th November I left Teheraun, accompanied by Abbas Kouli Khan, Messrs. Taylor, Thomson, Glen, Abbott, Reed, Carapied, and the Russian attachés. Previous to my departure, Count Medem called at the British embassy, and took

leave. I arrived that day at Kand, nine miles from Teheraun. It is a beautiful village, with gardens. On the 8th of November we came to Sunghur-Abad, thirty-eight miles from Teheraun. It belongs to Haje Mirza Agasee.

On the 9th of November we reached Sepher-Khoja. A curious incident happened when I arrived. Assaad Ullah Beyk, who, when I was at Bokhara, was slave to Abdul Samut Khan, also arrived in this village. He ransomed himself for ninety tillahs, though the Nayeb had never bought him; and besides all this, the poor fellow was obliged to give him a shawl worth one hundred tillahs. I confess that I supposed him acquainted with the Nayeb's design to kill me by assassins, and that I believed him to be one of them; but he quickly undeceived and assured me, that Abdul Samut Khan had not treated him better than me. Assaad Ullah Beyk was now the Shah's Chaparee (postman), and was going to collect money at Khoy.

November 10th. Reached Casween with Mullah Mehdee —an immense town, but, on account of lack of water, and of the plague, thinly inhabited. Formerly numerous Jews dwelt there, who were transported to Sabz-Awar, Nishapoor, and Torbad in Khorassaun. It was formerly a royal residence: the governor, a very kind man, received me in his house, and treated me most hospitably. On November 14th we reached Sultanieh, built by the Shah Khoda Banda. A splendid mausoleum is here.

On the 18th of November I arrived at Sanjoon, built according to Jewish tradition, by Ahasuerus. There is a Georgian there, Yakoob Khan by name, who is in the service of the Persian army, and occupies the situation of Colonel. He practises secretly the Christian religion, and has all his children baptized; and as his wife was just confined, he requested me to baptize the child, which I did, and Mullah Mehdee, my baptized convert, was godfather. I pressed upon Yakoob Khan the duty of confessing the name of Christ pub-

licly; upon which he begged me to recommend him to the Queen of England, in order to be made a Colonel in the British army. Then he said he would immediately go to England, profess openly Christianity in the colonel's uniform, and sword in hand.. I could not give him any encouragement. I found there another young Georgian, who told me, if I did not take him on to England, and put him in the way to make money, he would turn Mussulman in spite of me. I told him he was welcome to do so.

On the 20th we arrived at Gul-Teppa. On the road towards that place I met with the American missionaries, Perkins and Stocking. I asked them where they came from. Mr. Perkins said, "You are Dr. Wolff, I guess." Stocking said, "Yes, I know him: it is Dr. Wolff, if I guess right." We were not able to talk much, from the heavy fall of snow.

On the 24th of November I was taken so ill on horseback, that I vomited immensely, and was also seized with a terrible shivering; I therefore sent immediately the gholam of Colonel Sheil, who accompanied me to Tabreez, to Mr. Bonham, her Britannic Majesty's consul-general. As he had no takhtrawan (litter) himself, he procured me that of one of the principal Armenians of Tabreez. Mr. Bonham, her Britannic Majesty's consul-general, and his most amiable lady, received me not only with hospitality, but with great cordiality. I baptized their child, born while I was at Bokhara. Through the kind care of Dr. Casolani, the medical gentleman of Prince Bahman Mirza, I was partially restored to health. After which Mr. Bonham gave a public dinner on my account, to which he invited Monsieur Osroff, and the Russian attachés, and all the Greek and Armenian gentlemen. Mr. Osroff gave a dinner in return, and told me that he had orders from his government to give me every assistance in case that I intended to go "*viâ* Russia." Mr. Osroff also told me that he had been private secretary to Prince Galitzin, late minister of Public Instruction; and in perusing the

private correspondence of that statesman, he frequently met with my name, and an honourable description of my pursuits.

I also was introduced by Mr. Bonham to his royal highness Bahman Mirza, Prince-governor of Tabreez and the whole province of Azerbijan. He is brother to the present king. He wrote for me the following autograph, of which I subjoin, from its length, the translation only; and he also made me a present of an emerald ring, worth thirty pounds.

Translation of a Letter from His Royal Highness Bahman Mirza, Prince-Governor of the Province of Azerbijan, Persia, addressed to the Rev. J. Wolff, LL.D. &c.

As at the time of the victory and dominion of the army of the great state of England in the Affghaun countries, two officers of that magnificent and powerful monarchy were lost at the seat of government of Bokhara, and there were no signs of them; in the year of the Hijrah 1259, his Excellency, endowed with acuteness and knowledge, a chief among the nobles of the Christians, and a pillar among the learned of the religion of the Messiah, Priest Joseph Wolff, who belongs to the great and noble of that religion, and who is familiar and acquainted with every language,—the excess of his learning, and the extremity of his magnanimity and research, outweighing in this business the sacrificing of his life and property,—that he might arrive at the truth of this news he accounted the trouble of this very dangerous journey, in which the first step is taking leave of life, more agreeable than remaining at ease. And in this long journey, which in every road of it, from the brigands of the tribes of Yemout and Türkomaun, and of the Septs, with crooked languages, of Tartary, may be considered as going out of the world, he trusted his own single person to the step of diligence, until, after a thousand kinds of afflictions, he accomplished the object which he had. In truth, undergoing such hardships is beyond the endurance of every one. Now that, in the latter end of the year of the Hijrah 1260, he has returned, and arrived at the seat of government of Tabreez, it was necessary for us to write an account of the extent of his hardships, which we have seen and heard of, in this our own hand-writing, that in every state and in every country it may tend to the increase of his consideration and honour. And we further order the governors

and lords, and nobles and chiefs of the country of Azerbijan, at every station and in all journeys at the time of his passing, to take care of the aforesaid priest, and treat him with kindness and honour. Also, if after this he returns to Azerbijan, they must act according to this order.

Written in the month of *Zeekada*, A. H. 1260, answering to from 12th Nov. to 11th Dec., A. D. 1844.

The Russian inhabitants of Tabreez, as well as Greeks, together with the English, observed that it would be a perfect disgrace for the British government to let the matter of the murder of Stoddart and Conolly sleep, as there was no doubt that they were both political agents, sent by government, and that Conolly went to Bokhara by direction of Colonel Stoddart. To prove that this notion is correct, I give—

I. Extracts from a letter of Captain J. Conolly, brother to the deceased officer, to a relative.

Arthur starts in a few days for Kokan. His mission will be an interesting one, and the objects of it you will learn by reading a correspondence which Arthur intends sending you.

* * * * *

The fortunate Envoy is Arthur. His route will be across the desert to Khiva, and, if circumstances permit, to Bokhara. He has the prospect of gaining great laurels. Sir A. Burnes was first offered the appointment, but declined the embassy; and Sir William said that he could hardly dispense with his services from this place, (Cabūl). Arthur will no doubt write to you shortly about his mission.

II. The following correspondence from Colonel Stoddart:

July, 1841.

Conolly returns back, you have probably read, and is likely to accompany me hence, and has been placed at my disposal, so far as calling upon him to return by this line goes. * * *

I have availed myself of Captain Conolly's visit here to propose to the Ameer to send me off, as Captain Conolly has *orders* to stop here if the Ameer wishes.

III. The following extract from the Journal of Captain Conolly himself:

When I came here, Stoddart did all in his power to put me forward; but as long as the Ameer detains him, I shall refer to him (as the *accredited British agent*) every communication or business that the Ameer may make to me. He well knows the people here,—and the *dignity of our Government is safe in his hands.*

My attention has been directed to the fact, that this statement negatives that of Abdul Samut Khan. I fully admit that it does, and it only adds another lie to that miscreant's numberless delinquencies.

The above evidence is quite sufficient to prove, that it cannot conduce to the honour of the British government to let this question slumber as it has done. Affghanistaun and Bokhara have broken through that charm that bound down the Deeves and Afrits of these regions, as powerfully as the fabled virtue of the Seal of Solyman. It is well that the chivalric valour of a Napier in Sinde, a government like Lord Ellenborough's, one meteor flash, dazzling and confounding, and the recent hard-won triumph of our arms over the Sikhs now startle the East; but let reverses come, and see then whether the two hundred millions of our Indian empire will not break from the charm that has bound them astance for nearly a century. Who will say that the butchery of our envoys in Bokhara being unnoticed, did not contribute, in conjunction with the Cabūl affair, to the recent hardihood of the Sikhs in their late resistance to our arms? The question is a matter of indifference, as to *envoys* or *officers*. I am of the wise man's opinion of old: That form of government is best, "*where an injury done to the meanest subject, is an insult to the whole community.*"

He spoke of *insult;* I speak of *murder*. What country, I ask, has such facility to vindicate her honour, to preserve the life of every one of her meanest subjects, as England? To say nothing of her *officers*, her *distinguished officers*, I might add more, her—— But I forbear to use that word; that gives the climax to our shame. I speak not of the past;

I inculpate no one,—I leave that to others; but I do demand, Can matters rest thus? Are we to allow this foul blot on the scutcheon of national honour?

The Persians here visit the following holy places: 1st. Kerbelai, near Bagdad, where Imaum Hussein is buried. 2nd. Kasemein, near Kerbelai, the sepulchre of Kasem. 3rd. Meshed, in which city is the tomb of Imaum Resa. After a visit to these towns, a person receives the appellation of Kerbelai, Meshedee, or Kasemein. I joked frequently with them, and said, as I had been at Meshed, they ought to call me Meshedee Youssuff Wolff. But after they have made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, they drop these appellations, and become Haje, like the rest of the Muhammedans.

A considerable feud now prevails between the Persians and Turks; for which reason, as I have observed, English and Russian commissioners are at Erzroom, in order to prevent hostilities. The dispute first broke out on account of the frontiers; but it was increased by the Pasha of Bagdad sending troops to Kerbelai, and massacreing the Sheahs of that place, which will never be forgotten. I am very sorry that Colonel Taylor's conduct, the British consul-general at Bagdad, was disapproved of on that occasion. He was displaced for not having interfered, and prevented the Turks from marching to Kerbelai. He is an excellent man, and of astonishing learning, and a marvellous polyglot. He knows above twenty languages. However, it seems that he placed too much reliance on his Armenian subalterns, especially Khatshik. I hope government will give him some other post. Government has, however, greatly to their honour, sent to Bagdad a most extraordinary man. His name is Major Rawlinson, who has so distinguished himself at Candahar, and who is so great a favourite with the Indian government. He is, besides, a fine Arabic, Persian, and Turkish scholar, and an ardent philanthropist. It must have been very amusing to see these two gentlemen, as I learnt they did frequently,

(Colonel Taylor and Major Rawlinson,) remaining up until three in the morning, disputing about some Arabic root, as my friend Colonel Farrant related matters to me. I hear Major Rawlinson takes care to furnish the missionaries with adequate protection.

I shall never forget the kindness of Colonel Taylor, and the assistance he gave me when with him six months at Bosra, in the Persian Gulf, in making researches amongst the disciples of John the Baptist, who are called also Mandaye Hayah, *i. e.* 'the followers of the living God." They affect to be the descendants of the Chaldeans, and of the brothers of Abraham; and when Abraham proclaimed the unity of the one God, they relate the brothers of Abraham followed him. But when Abraham established the rite of circumcision, they looked at him with horror, and separated from him. But they continued to worship the *one living God* by three names; the names of Hayah Kadmaya, Hayah Tinyana, Hayah Titaya, *i. e. the living in the first degree, the living in the second degree, the living in the third degree.* And when John the Baptist appeared, they received baptism by St. John in the wilderness; and from that moment they have had two kinds of priests, they say, the one called the Turmeda, who is a representative of the Baptist, and the Ganz-Awra, who is the representative of Jesus Christ; and the representative of Jesus Christ is baptized every Sunday by the representative of John the Baptist in the river Frat, or Euphrates. They have a great book, called *Sadra Raba*, the authors of which, they say, were Seth and John the Baptist. They relate that John the Baptist was buried at Shuster, the ancient Susan, in Khuzistaun. They themselves reside in the following places, near the Euphrates;—at Bosra, Gorno, Sook-al-Sheookh, Shustar, and Desbul. Their number amounts to six thousand. Father Agatangelos, a Roman Catholic missionary about one hundred years ago, and whose journal was given to me in MS. by the Roman Catholic priest at Bussorah in the

year 1824, and which I have given to the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, relates that he had made fruitless attempts to convert the Mandaye to the Catholic religion; but, with the kind assistance of Colonel Taylor, I established a school at Bussorah. Even the Ganz-Awra, representative of Jesus Christ, sent his son to the school, who made great progress in English.

The poor Mandaye sing, persecuted as they are by the Muhammedans,—

> We are oppressed by the circumcised.
> Departed from our eyes is the timbrel and dance.

They maintain that Boohyra, the monk at Bosra, who assisted Muhammed, and who was supposed to be a Nestorian monk by the Christian historians, was a Mandaye. They also say, that at the time when the Jews were in the captivity in Egypt, they lived with them, and were oppressed, like them, by the Egyptians; and when Pharaoh was overwhelmed in the sea, they emigrated with the children of Israel to Mount Sinai, and lived there in amity with the Jews. But when Joshua re-established the rite of circumcision, they separated from the Jews. It is very remarkable, that in the twelfth chapter of Exodus it is said, that a mixed multitude went out with the children of Israel; and also, according to Joshua, circumcision was neglected in the desert, and then re-established. Their language is Chaldean. The Ganz-Awra, who was my teacher in Sabæan, and also Colonel Taylor's, wrote some mysterious characters upon a part of the Governor's wife's body usually concealed from sight, in order to form a charm to insure pregnancy; for which the Governor gave orders to cut off his right hand, and he writes therefore with his left. He maintained that a great number of their sect were residing in the deserts of Faz and Mekanez, in Morocco.

Two things are very remarkable with respect to small sects, —that they always maintain that great numbers of their body

are residing in distant countries; so also the Mandaye assert; and the Samaritans at Nablooz told me the same, that great numbers of their people lived in London and Paris: and the Baptists in England rejoice very much to hear that there exists a sect on the Euphrates, who, like them, are called disciples of John the Baptist, and baptize in rivers. This anxiety on their part indicates Catholicity to be a natural and inherent principle.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Two leading Sects amid Muhammedans, Sheahs and Sunnees. Ball by Mr. Bonham—Dancers all Gentlemen. Death of Mrs. Bonham. Shamyl Beyk—Anecdote of him and General Neidhart. Chaldeans in the Mountains of Kurdistaun not of the Ten Tribes, Dr. Wolff thinks, as commonly asserted. Nestorians or Chaldeans—their Assertion that they did not become Followers of Nestorius, but simply received him kindly among them—Episcopacy hereditary among them—oppressed by the Kurds—Sir Stratford Canning interferes in their behalf. Mar Yohannan, Bishop of Oroomiah—his Letter, written in English. Accurate Character of Mr. Ainsworth's Work on Asia Minor, &c. Armenians of Tabreez give Dr. Wolff a Public Dinner. Diploma from Bahman Mirza to Dr. Casolani. Daoud Khan. Attempt to abolish ancient Forms by the Protestant Missionaries injudicious. Edward Burgess—his unfortunate Position—Letter addressed by him to Dr. Wolff. Departure of Dr. Wolff from Tabreez. *Route:* Mayoon—Dessa Khaleel—Tasuj—Sayd Hajee—Khoy. Dangerous travelling from this point—Robbery of Messrs. Todd and Abbott—the Kurds compel Mr. Todd to swallow his Pomatum. *Route:* Soraba—Karaine—Leyba—Awajick. Snow compels Dr. Wolff to go on Horseback—The Pasha of Erzroom sends a Guard of Honour for Dr. Wolff. Letters from Colonel Williams.

I SHALL now touch on a few points with respect also to the two leading sects among Muhammedans, the Sheahs and the Sunnees. The Persians, being Sheahs, practise dissimulation whenever they come into countries where the Sunnees are in power. This system of dissimulation is called by them *Takeea*. Thus, for instance, the Sheahs pray with their arms hanging down, like a soldier when he is drilled, and add the name of Ali in their prayers, and curse five times a-day Omar, Osman, and Abu-Bekr in their prayers; but when they are among the Sunnees they perform their devotions with their hands laid upon their breast, omit the name of Ali, and take

care not to curse Omar, Osman, and Abu-Bekr. A Muhammedan at Meshed told me that the Sheahs were enjoined by Muhammed himself to practise Takeea in the presence of Sunnees. When I told him, that in Muhammed's life the distinction between Sunnee and Sheah did not exist, he told me that Muhammed foresaw, by the spirit of prophecy, that such a distinction must arise.

Mr. Bonham gave a ball on account of my arrival. He got the band of the Prince to play European music, but the dancers were not ladies and gentlemen, but all gentlemen. The Russian consul-general, Mr. Osroff, with all his attachés, and the respectable Greek merchants of the house of Ralli,—a firm established at Tabreez, Constantinople, Marseilles, London, and Manchester,—were there. They put on my Tūrkomaun dresses and the robe which the Ameer of Bokhara had given me. It was a most funny sight. Mrs. Bonham kept herself in the other room, as some Persians were present.

I was sincerely grieved when I heard, after my departure, of the death of that excellent lady, who died from typhus fever, and is now removed from us. She was one of the most pious, sensible, virtuous, and kind-hearted ladies I ever met with,—exquisitely beautiful, with a child-like simplicity. She was daughter to Sir William Floyd, Bart., residing at Brussels. I shall ever remember Mr. Bonham and his sainted lady with gratitude and delight.

Previous to my departure, I heard also at Tabreez a great deal of Shamyl Beyk, a mighty chief in Daghistaun, who has risen up in battle against the mighty Emperor of Russia, and a bloody war is now carried on in that region. General Woronzoff has been sent against him; and though the conflict is obstinate, and the mountaineers supported by Polish officers, there is no doubt entertained that, at last, Shamyl Beyk, though a gallant fellow, must give in to the giant of the North. I heard a curious anecdote of this chief and General Neidhart, governor-general of Georgia.

General Neidhart issued a proclamation to the following purport; that whosoever would bring him the head of Shamyl Beyk should receive as much gold as the head weighed. Shamyl Beyk, on hearing of it, sent a letter to General Neidhart, expressing to his Excellency his gratitude for the great compliment he had paid his head, by setting so high a value on it; but on his part he regretted he could not return the compliment, since he could assure his Excellency that he would not give a straw to any one who would deliver his (General Neidhart's) head to him (Shamyl Beyk).

A few words on the Chaldeans in the mountains of Kurdistaun. These Chaldeans, as the late lamented Dr. Grant well observed, are of Jewish origin, though I cannot go so far as to affirm that they are of the Ten Tribes, since they do not know their own genealogy. They are now mostly Christians, and a number of them, converted to the Roman Catholic church, have their patriarch at Diarbekr.

The real Chaldeans, also called Nestorians, had a patriarch, Mar Shemaun by name, who resided until the last year only at Khojanes. They protest, however, that they are not Nestorians, and they said to me, in the year 1825, when I visited them at Salmast and Oroomiah, "Nestorius came to us, and we received him kindly, but we never took him as our guide, but as our brother in Christ." They resemble mostly the Protestants of Germany and England, for they have neither images nor monasteries, and their priests are married. The episcopal dignity, however, is hereditary, as well as that of the patriarch, and at the time the mother of the patriarch becomes pregnant, she abstains from drinking wine and eating meat; and, in case that a son is born, he is the patriarch, and if a daughter, she is obliged to observe eternal virginity. They are now sorely pressed by the Kurds: several thousands have been slain by them, and many wounded, which atrocities were committed at the instigation of the Pasha and Kazi of Mosul; but this was too much for the great Sir Stratford Canning to

allow. He interfered at the Porte, and the Kazi and Pasha of Mosul were summoned to appear before the Sultan; and the gallant Colonel Farrant was sent to the Kurds to investigate matters, and Mr. Stevens, the British vice-consul of Samsoon, was despatched to redeem the Chaldean slaves made by the Kurds, in which he was very successful. My excellent friends, Colonel Williams and Mr. Brant, at Erzroom, were also employed by Sir Stratford Canning to obtain the protection of the late excellent Pasha of Erzroom, or the Chaldean Christian Haje Kamil Pasha, not only Pasha of Erzroom, but Seraskier for all Kurdistaun. And he did so effectually, but the Porte showed in that, as in every thing else, her imbecility and total unfitness for government, by recalling that excellent Pasha after my departure from Erzroom, and sending as his successor to Erzroom a most miserable creature.

Mar Yohannan, bishop of Oroomiah, called on me at Tabreez. He is a gentleman of much intelligence, and had learned English from the American missionaries, and has visited America. He wrote to me a letter which reached me in London, and which I insert just as it came.

My dear and beloved Friend, Oroomiah, March 27th, 1845.

I have much pleasure to write letters to you, but I could not find good time. I greatly desire to see you, and to speak with you. I hope you will not forget me: will you remember me with your prayers in your churches, when you pray for the people? Your prayers will be a blessing to us, and will guide us to heaven; they will be light to our way. I wrote another letter for the Lord Bishop of London. If you please you will write me answer, that I may know; I want to come to your country, and to see your people. If you please, I will bring with me two or three boys that may learn your language: they know little the English. My dear, we made covenant with each other at Theran that we shall go together to London; you left me at Tabreez, you went. I hope now you will send me letter about my going to your country. May the Lord bless you with all his blessings in the kingdom of heaven!

Your affectionate friend,

MAR YOHANNAN,
Bishop of Oroomiah.

The letter is in itself fully indicative of the simple character of these Chaldean bishops. I am pleased to find that Mr. Ainsworth agrees with me that the Chaldeans are not Nestorians, and the details in his admirable work are such as may be fully relied on; for I have confirmed by personal experience a large portion of the matter in his highly interesting volumes, entitled, "Travels and Researches in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, and Armenia."

The principal Armenians of Tabreez also gave me a public dinner, to which the consul-general, Mr. Bonham, and the rest of the English inhabitants of Tabreez, and the Russian consul-general, with the Russian authorities, were invited.

I must here also express my thanks to Dr. Casolani, a Maltese physician, who recovered me from a second dangerous attack of bilious fever. Dr. Casolani is nominated physician to the Prince-governor, Bahman Mirza, by a diploma to the following curious purport:

A Royal Order,—That since the sagacity, the acuteness, the science, the excellence of the high in dignity, exalted station, having sincerity and candour, being endowed with judgment and penetration, the great among the nobles of Christendom, Mr. Casolani, English physician and surgeon, has been proved in the receptacle of the honourable mind, and revealed to the illustrious and royal understanding, particularly at this time, as the cures which he has performed in this place have all been marked with wisdom and science, and the remedies which he has made use of in this country have been profitable to and effective in every constitution and temperament, it was necessary that we should attach particularly to ourselves a person of this kind, who was celebrated and lauded for his approved skill. Therefore, in this year of Loo-eel, of happy indication, we have enrolled the high in station above mentioned in the rank of our followers; and in reward for this service we have granted and bestowed three hundred tomans in the way of salary to the above-mentioned high in rank,—that he may receive and take it every year; that he may use it for his expenses, and spend it for his disbursements; that with tranquillity and repose he may accomplish the cure, and administer reme-

dies, as may happen to the Royal Chief and his princely children, and according to the extent of his skill he may be diligent in examining and considering our constitution, so that the Royal favour may daily increase.

The honourable Secretaries of State will take a copy of the date of this Order, and consider it as obligatory.

I visited again Daoud Khan, a colonel in the Russian service. He is a genuine Georgian, and as such is not very fond of the Armenians. He informed me what I knew before, for I was in Georgia in the year 1825, that the native Jews in Georgia are slaves to the country gentlemen of Georgia, or, as those country gentlemen are called, Kenyaz. The first of these is the Prince of Kenyaz Aristow, at Suran; the second, Kostantil, at Mukhram Battone; and the third, Prince Kalavantan, at Sekwee. I give these names, as the Jews' Society may feel disposed, probably, to send some agents there. The dignitaries in the Georgian church have the following degrees: 1. Diacon; 2. Odeli, (priest); 3. Behse, (monk); 4. Dacanoggi, (dean); 5. Zinam Jawaree, (bishop); 6. Katalikos, (archbishop).

It will be in vain for Protestant missionaries to attempt to abolish forms among the Eastern Christians. We seem to forget that the human mind is like fluid matter, which can only attain permanency in a vessel: therefore Dr. Grant, Whiting, and Goodell perceived that, and left all forms unaltered. I must also note here, that Dr. Southgate, American Episcopal missionary at Constantinople, has gained the affection of the Armenian bishop at Constantinople by his wise conduct in this particular.

I must not forget also to name an interesting and unfortunate young gentleman at Tabreez, whose name is Edward Burgess, well acquainted with the Persian language. This excellent young gentleman is employed by Prince Bahman Mirza, as translator of the English newspapers. His brother was in the service of the Persian government, and sent by them with several thousand tomauns to England to buy mer-

chandise, and poor Edward Burgess remained guarantee for his brother's honour. His brother most shamefully neglected to redeem his honour, and abandoned Edward to the consequences of his generous devotion. He is therefore detained in Persia for his brother the defaulter. The poor man would be in the utmost distress, if Mr. Bonham and the Russian consul-general, and the Greek merchants, did not do all in their power to serve him. He told me, with tears in his eyes, that he had written four times to Colonel Sheil without receiving any answer from him, though he had written to him officially as a British subject. Such a matter ought to be settled, since, in a country like Persia, nothing is more probable than that at the death of the king, Burgess would be sold as a slave. I am exceedingly pained to be obliged to say such things, for the forwarding the second letter of the Shah to Bokhara by Colonel Sheil certainly saved my life; but I am only one, and I was recommended powerfully, but an ambassador ought to take an interest in the meanest subject. The translation of Prince Bahman Mirza's letter, given above, is by him, and he enclosed it to me in the following kind note, which I insert.

My dear Sir, Tabreez, 8th February, 1845.

I sent the translation of the letter the Prince wrote to you by a courier of the French Mission, who started on the 1st of January: I trust that it reached you safely. I did not write to you when I sent that translation, because I had very little notice of the courier's departure. I hope the translation will please you. I have made it as near the Persian as possible to make sense of it, and I endeavoured, as much as our language will allow, to preserve the idiom of the Persian; you, who are acquainted with the latter language, know how difficult that is. The title "Excellency," which is given to you in the letter, may appear strange in Europe, but it is the only translation I could give to the word *Jenaub*. In this country it is only used to priests of high rank and ambassadors, and has always been translated as I have done. One of the government secretaries attached to the

Prince told me that his royal Highness had given you this title because he understood you had high clerical rank in England, and therefore he wished to give you the same title and respect as was usual in addressing their own Mahomedan priesthood.

You, no doubt, have heard of the melancholy death of poor Mrs. Bonham; she died on the 30th of December, after an illness of only five days.

I hope that this will find you safely passed through all your difficulties. We heard of your arrival at Erzeroom, but that you were unwell; no doubt, ere this reaches you, you will again have returned home, and had a happy meeting with your family.

It was just as well you started when you did, for the winter has been most severe. I believe nearly two hundred people have perished in the snow in the immediate neighbourhood of this town, besides those who have been lamed and crippled: the snow in many places was drifted level with the walls of the vineyards which surround the town, and the thermometer stood at ten degrees below zero, or forty-two degrees of frost. It was almost like living in a place that was besieged, they were so constantly bringing us in news of men being lost. For the last ten days the weather has been milder, and to-day and yesterday we have had quite warm spring days, and the ice and snow is fast disappearing.

I am, my dear Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

EDWARD BURGESS.

At last I determined on my departure from Tabreez. Mr. Osroff, the Russian consul-general, gave me a third dinner, and made me a present of a takhtrawan (litter); for being ill, I could not ride on horseback. I left Tabreez on the 9th of December. Messrs. Bonham and Osroff, Dr. Casolani, Daoud Khan the Armenian, all the Russian attachés, and the Greek merchants, accompanied me a long distance. Dr. Casolani's brother accompanied me even to Khoy. All the Europeans cheered me heartily on my departure, with many a hearty hurrah.

On the evening of the 9th we slept in a village called Mayoon, eight English miles from Tabreez. On the 10th we went to Deesa Khaleel, twenty-four English miles from

the last place. On the 11th we reached Tasuj, twenty-four miles. On the 12th, Sayd Hajee, twenty-four miles. On the 13th we arrived at Khoy, a considerable town in former times, but almost entirely destroyed by an earthquake. It is now in great confusion, for there is a governor there, and besides him a brother of the Haje, the prime-minister, who also pretends to be governor, does every thing in despite of the real governor, and Prince Bahman Mirza, Prince-governor of Azerbijan, does not dare to keep him in order, from fear of offending his brother the Haje.

I stopped then in the house of a Persian, for whom I had a letter from the Armenians of Tabreez, till the 15th, when I set out for Perea, always in the takhtrawan, for my excessive weakness and biliousness did not allow me to ride on horseback. Here the great danger of travelling begins, by reason of the Kurds, who assail every traveller, and who attacked, some years back, Messrs. Todd and Abbott, and robbed them of all they had. After they had stripped poor Todd of every thing, they took away his pomatum. They asked him what it was, when he said that it was butter; they tasted it, but as they did not like it, they forced poor Todd to demolish sundry pots of it. I am told that he cannot endure bacon ever since, and he was so disgusted with the country, that he took a tremendous oath not to remain in Persia; and he actually left Persia, where he was handsomely paid, and returned to Constantinople, where he was attaché without pay, but minus pomatum, until he became attaché in Hanover.

I have this account from high authority, no less than his bosom friend, Mr. Layard, who goes into the full details of every thing, and does not leave a tittle unfathomed. I learn that Mr. Todd wrote something about me, which compliment I beg leave to repay. He is, however, an excellent person, notwithstanding all this.

On the 16th December, we arrived at Soraba, twenty-four English miles from Khoy. The cold was intense, and my

biliousness increased. Snow had begun to fall. However, we continued our journey, and we arrived at Karaine, where eight Armenian families are residing, who are exceedingly dirty; but as they were well acquainted with the road, I agreed with one of them to accompany me as far as Erzroom, in order that he might everywhere prepare lodgings among the Armenians; for as my health was precarious, I wished to stay in Christian houses, so that if I should die I might be decently buried, and in a Christian manner. After I had agreed with him to give him two ducats to Erzroom, and his victuals, the priest who had recommended him told him that he should not allow him to go, except I gave him something for his recommendation. Though I am rather partial to the Armenians in general, I must say that the Armenian priesthood around Tabreez and Khoy, together with those priests of the Chaldean nation who have been converted to Romanism, and who reside at Salmast, Bashgala, Khosrowa, and Oroomia, are most depraved, and generally perform the office of ruffiani to Europeans who are of a gay disposition. I gave that Armenian priest something for the permission to depart with his nephew. A few miles distant from Karaine is an Armenian convent, called Tatus Arrakel, which means Thaddeus the Apostle, for it is believed that the apostle Thaddeus preached there. That convent contains about six priests, who are called Wardapiet.

We were detained at Karaine by a Kulagh. We then arrived at Seyba, seven miles distant. As it snowed too hard, and natives were actually frozen to death that day, I was compelled to keep the house, where the Armenian whom I had taken with me thoroughly disgusted me by his dirty habits. The filthiness of that fellow was almost inconceivable.

On the 20th December we set out for Awajick, the last frontier town of Persia. Khaleefa Kouli Khan, the governor of that place, received me very kindly, and he again asked me particularly whether I had heard anything of Mc Neill Saheb

and Campbell Saheb. I met with a very curious circumstance in his house. I saw there a Persian servant of Colonel Farrant, of Erzroom, by whom he was sent away, and in irons, from Erzroom to Persia, in order to receive condign punishment by the Haje of Teheraun. He entered my room with his feet in irons, striking them together, and then sat quietly down and smoked a galyoon, and asked me several questions with great arrogance. After having inquired the reason of his being ironed, I ordered him to leave the room, which he did. I was obliged to leave my takhtrawan behind, on account of the prodigious snow, and I had now to ascend the mountains of Armenia, and therefore was obliged to go on horseback.

Khaleefa Kouli Khan went some distance with me himself, and sent twelve horsemen on with me, who had orders to accompany me as far as Ghizl-Deesa, fifteen miles from Awajick, in the Sultan's dominions. Arriving there, I found a cavass, *i. e.* a guard of honour, sent there already twenty-four days previous by his Excellency the Pasha of Erzroom, Haje Kamil Pasha, with a welcome letter of my dear friend Colonel Williams, who informed me that I should find there the gallant and cordial Colonel Farrant, and that on my approach to Erzroom they should come out to me, and give me three cheers; at the same time reminding me of my promise to stay with him, and not with my friend Mr. Brant, the British consul. How cheering was this to me! Would to God he had been at Teheraun on my return there, for certainly he would have made an example of Dil Assa Khan and of Haje Ibrahim!

CHAPTER XXVII.

Route: Ghizl-Deesa—Utsh Kelesea—Nierses, the Katokhikos of the Armenian Church. Efforts of the Czar to unite Armenian and Russian Churches. *Route:* Yuntsh Aloo—Kara Klesea—Mullah Suleiman—Seydekan. Dr. Wolff injured by a Fall from his Horse. *Route:* Dehli Baba—Komassur—Kopre Koy—Hassan Kaleh. Letters from Colonel Williams and Mr. Brant—Letter of Colonel Williams to Captain Grover. Arrival at Erzroom. Dreadful sufferings of Dr. Wolff—Kindness of Colonel Williams, Mr. Brant, and Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse to Dr. Wolff. Death of Mrs. Bonham. Ambassador from Bokhara to England arrives at Erzroom. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Interview of Dr. Wolff, Mr. Brant, Colonel Williams, and Colonel Farrant, with Kamil Pasha—Kamil Pasha's Statement to them of his Interview with the Ambassador from Bokhara to England. Departure from Erzroom. *Route:* Mey Mansoor—Saaza—Massad—Beyboot—Jaajee Koy—Gumush Khané—Artasa—Yerkopri—Yeseer Oglu. Letter from Mr. Stevens.

We set out for Ghizl-Deesa, and proceeded on to Diadeen. On our way thither the heavens were clear,—not a cloud visible until we had passed between two mountains covered with snow; when suddenly the wind blew, from both sides apparently, and drove from both summits masses of snow into our faces. The cavass seized hold of the rope of my horse, and giving a spur to his own, said, "Let us try to get through that horrid pass as fast as possible; if not, we shall be buried in the snow, for here is the Kulagh." After a few minutes' ride the sky was covered with mists, which kept back the wind, and thus we came safely through the dangerous pass, and arrived at Diadeen. There is more danger in these countries when the sky is clear, than when surrounded with thick mists.

On the 23rd we arrived in the Armenian convent of Utsh Kelesea, *i. e.* "three churches,' of which I have already given a description, for I have been twice there. In that convent I found an ancient MS. of the Bible in the Armenian tongue, and my friend J. H. Frere will be glad to learn that, on his account, I looked particularly at Daniel viii. 14, in which the number two thousand four hundred is found. Thus the Hebrew MSS. at Bokhara, at Adrianople, and Utsh Kelesea confirm his hypothesis. Utsh Kelesea is situated near the Moorad, *i. e.* Euphrates. The convent is placed at the very back of a mountain, and we cross the Moorad by a bridge, so that in winter it is exceedingly cold, and there is almost a continual Kulagh. The superior informed me, what I knew before, that the great Nierses, formerly archbishop of Tiflis, was exiled by Paskewitsh to Bessarabia, on account of his inflexible character, and refusal to cede any rights of the Armenian church. The Emperor Nicholas, however, showed his good sense by proposing Nierses to the Armenian church as a candidate worthy of being chosen as Katokhikos at Ech-Miazin. I knew Nierses when at Tiflis in the year 1825. He was a venerable man, learned in the Armenian language, and even in Russian. His whole mind was absorbed in the great attempt of reviving in his nation the spirit of Nierses Shnorhaale and Nierses Lampronazi. He tried to reform his nation without imbuing them with a spirit of German neology. He established schools for his nation in all parts of Georgia, and the writings of Mesrop are read, and those of Nierses Shnorhaale and Moses Korinaze. In these addresses he reminds his countrymen that they are descendants of King Abgar, who corresponded with our Lord. He had his nation instructed not only in the Armenian language, but also in the Russian literature. This great Nierses spoke to me, when I was with him at Tiflis, in the following manner about Christ: "Every instrument, every material used for the crucifixion of Christ, teaches us a lesson.

1. *The thirty silverlings* are emblems of the mean price for which the sinner casts away his prospects of eternal life.

2. *The lantern* with which Judas led the bands to Christ, is emblematical of the false light spread by modern civilization.

3. *The bonds* with which Christ was bound, are emblems of the bonds of love with which he loved us, in opposition to the bonds of sin, which enslave us.

4. *Voice of the cock.* An emblem of the voice of conscience.

5. *Scourges.* Emblems of eternal chastenings.

6. *Purple robe.* Punishment for blood-guiltiness.

7. *Crown of thorns.* The difficulty with which one obtains a crown of glory.

8. *Sceptre of reeds.* Vacillation of the will.

9. *Gall and myrrh.* Bitterness of heart.

10. *The bason in which Pilate washed his hands.* An emblem of hypocrisy,—self-righteousness, by which the inquietude of conscience seeks pretext and excuse.

11. *Superscription on the cross and with the cross,* shows him against whom the heart of man is rebellious, and how far the enmity of man against God can be carried.

12. *Casting of lots.* An emblem of man's folly, in exposing eternal salvation to risk and uncertainty.

The great Nikolaus has hopes to unite the Armenian church with the Russian; and though I consider it to be a Scriptural principle that the Sovereign ought to be the head of the church, I think that he will find it a difficult matter to carry. All attempts among Protestants to establish a union have proved abortive; and not only that, but Christian communities, who have lived in peace among themselves, have been disunited as soon as a direct attempt was made to establish a stricter union among them; thus, for instance, the so-called *Evangelische Kirche, i. e.* the Swiss Confession, lived in perfect harmony with the Lutheran Confession, until the late king of Prussia made an attempt to unite both together; then even

the great Professor Creutzer, at Heidelberg, and others, rose against it. Thus the attempt to establish a union between the Greek and Anglican church has failed; and thus also the attempt lately made of uniting the Lutheran church with the Church of England will fail,—yea, has failed already. The best mode of uniting Christian churches is, to give each other assistance in those things which the Christian churches are in want of, and to show good will toward each other; and thus, by each branch trying in its own community to promote a spirit of holy zeal for the glory of God, and the promotion of His kingdom, and by each branch displaying a holy emulation in the practice of Christian virtues, the best union is established. And, I ask, is there union within the pale of the Roman Catholic church? I ask, is there any union between the Roman Catholics? Even before Ronge was excited to an open protest against the 'coat of Treves,' the schools of Hermes, Sailer, Gosner, were as much opposed, not only to Rome, but even to the school of Klee, and even more than the Lutherans and Evangelicals are. I ask, is the theological seminary of Prague, where Caspar Royko, Bolzano, and Peszel taught, in union with the unity taught at Rome? And is there not a distinct difference made in Austria between Roman Catholics and the so-called Römlinge, *i. e.* Romanists? Why was Johannes Jhan, Professor of Oriental literature, openly denounced as a heretic by Cardinal Severoli? I ask further, are the theological schools in Italy united? Whether, for instance, there is no difference between the teaching of Tamburini at Pavia, and Professor Piatti, formerly Professor of dogmatic theology in the Collegio Romano at Rome? And, I ask, would Dr. Wiseman dare to teach at Rome as he does at Oscott? There is no union in the churches, and no rule of uniformity will re-establish that unity; and no unity will be re-established until the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ to reign upon earth: then the nation shall go up to Jerusalem, and *one* language shall be spoken.

I stopped at the convent of Utsh Kelesea one day, and was kindly treated by the monks. An Armenian from Angora was also there. He recollected having heard me preach to the Jews at Angora, or Angoroo as the Turks call it. Angoroo, the north-easternmost point of the conquests of Alexander the Great, is the capital of Galatia. They show there the house where St. Paul preached. It was also conquered by Haroun Alrashid, and Mamoon his son. It is the chief emporium for commerce of Asia Minor, and is certainly, both in situation and fertility, the most beautiful place in Asia Minor. The silk hair of the goats, the fat tails of the sheep, the sweetness of its pears, its apples upon the mountain Alm-Tagh, surpass, as the Armenian Makarditsh tells me, all the fruits of Paradise, whilst the romantic rocks around enchant the eye of the most phlegmatic traveller. Its inhabitants are also famous as clever rope-dancers. The city is filled with the convents of renowned derveeshes, and the college of Tash-Koopre Saadeh, the great Encyclopedist. Sultan Moorad also conquered it.

The Armenian, Catholic, and Greek Christians of Angoroo are the most amiable, clean, hospitable, and learned Christians of the East, and the Jews are well treated by them. I conversed with the superior of Utsh Kelesea and the monks on Eternity, and translated for them the words of the damned, as described by Augustin: "Oh, tremendous and horror-full eternity! Woe to us—and eternally—woe! Woe to us that we were born! Woe to us that we are not able to die! We live an eternal death! We faint,—we languish,—yet we endure for ever, for no death terminates our death! Our end has no end! It was a moment that we lived in delight, but we are crucified eternally!"

On the 24th we arrived at Yuntsh Aloo, twenty-five English miles from Utsh Kelesea. Here a priest informed me that the Armenian liturgy was composed by Nierses, Mesrop, Yeknisha, and Isaac, in the fourth century. On the 25th (being Christmas-day) we arrived at Kara Klesea, inhabited

also by Armenians, who were very anxious to know whether the English people were united with the church of Rome or not. I gave them a full account of that point. I wished to set out that same day for Mullah Suleiman, but I was overtaken by a shower of snow, which compelled me to re-return, and I was so weakened besides, that I sent on an express messenger to Colonel Williams, telling him of my near approach.

On the 27th I set out for Mullah Suleiman. The hatred subsisting between the Armenians and the Armenian Catholics cannot be described. The Armenian servant I had with me, and an Armenian priest who came with me, actually refused to go with me to the house of the Armenian Catholic priest, and rather preferred leaving me and going to the house of a Muhammedan.

From hence we went to Seydekan, five English miles. I was detained there also by the snow. The Armenians there are so dirty, that it would be actually indecent to describe it. On the 30th December we arrived on the Mount of Taher, and as I wished to get fast through the mountain, and was afraid of being overtaken by a Kulagh, I spurred my horse forward; but I got a violent fall, and the horse fell with me, so that I was taken up senseless, and brought bound on the horse to Kurd Ali, inhabited by Kurds, and stopped in the house of Hassan Aga. The present Pasha of Erzroom has inspired terror among the Kurds in his immediate vicinity, and therefore I was civilly treated, but left in a stable with cows and horses. Most of the Kurds in villages wear no turbans, but large caps dropping behind, like the Maltese. Their language is a most horrid corruption and mixture of Turkish and Persian, and therefore the proverb is current among the Persians:

Arabee wasi ast.
Farsee shereen ast.
Turkee hunur ast.
Kurdee khar ast.

Which means, Arabic is an extensive language; the Persian sweet; the Turkish powerful; the Kurdish donkey-tongue.

On the 31st December we arrived at Dehli Baba, which has one Armenian church and three priests. On January 1st, we slept at Komassur. On the 2nd of January we reached Kopre Koy, where it was horridly cold; and from thence to Hassan Kaleh, where I was hospitably received by the Turkish governor, who delivered to me the following kind letters from Colonel Williams and our consul:

My dear Dr. Wolff, Erzeroom, 3rd January, 1845.

Pray persevere and come into Erzeroom: it would be madness to take medicine so near us. We will nurse you, and put you all to rights in a few days. Brant sent you some wine, which, after all, may be bad for you. I will ride out to the first village this afternoon; pray, therefore, take courage and come along. We are all ready for you, and if you are to be laid up, we are to be your nurses.

Ever yours truly,
W. F. WILLIAMS.

My dear Wolff, Erzeroom, 2nd January, 1845, Thursday Evening.

I am glad you are so near us. I received your note from Dahar, and asked the Pasha to send out a takhtravan or a sledge. He sends out a man to order the Woyvoda of Hassan Kaleh to pay you every attention, and to furnish you with either a takhtravan or a sledge, both which the Pasha said the Woyvoda had; but in case he did not send, the Pasha requested you would wait until one was sent you from hence. As to Dr. Dickson, he would willingly have gone to Hassan Kaleh, had you been very ill and required immediate assistance; but he thinks you had better defer taking medicine until you arrive here, therefore lose no time in coming on. I send you a bottle of Marsala, which Dr. Dickson recommends in preference to French wine; but use it moderately, it may perhaps not do you good.

I know you intended to have taken up your quarters with Colonel Williams, and although I think you ought to have applied to your old house, the Queen's Arms, yet I did not wish to thwart your inclination. However, as you require nursing and doctoring, I think you had better come to me, as you will get a more commodious room than Colonel Williams can give you, and a house

in which you will not be so liable to catch cold. Besides, you will be nearer the doctor, who can more easily and frequently visit you at my house than were you living at such a distance. I calculate you will not reach Hassan Kaleh until Saturday evening, and I hope you will be here by Sunday, or Monday early.

Thank you for the offer of your services to bind me to a wife, but I do not mean to avail myself of your kindness just now. Hoping soon to welcome you, and see you set up in health to prosecute your journey,

Believe me, my dear Wolff,
Your affectionate Friend,
JAMES BRANT.

To show, also, the great interest taken in my proceedings by that eminent philanthropist, Colonel Williams, I also add this letter to Captain Grover:

Dear Captain Grover, Erzeroom, November 28th, 1844.

I have to thank you for your note of the 5th of September, which, owing I presume to delays at the Foreign-office, only reached me by the Turkish tatar yesterday. Since that date you must have received my letters announcing Dr. Wolff's fortunate escape from Bokhara, and his arrival at Meshed; not, however, before you undertook your benevolent journey to St. Petersburg, from whence the last Galignani gives your return to London. I sent the good old Doctor's journal to the Ambassador a fortnight since, under flying seal, and directed to you; no doubt it is now on its way to London. By the golaum who brought this lengthy letter, I received a private note from the gallant Doctor, telling me that he should leave Teheraun in time to arrive at and quit Tabreez by the 17th instant. I therefore sent off two of the governor's cavasses, or guards, to the town of Bayazeed, on the Persian frontier, to escort the Doctor to my house. His Excellency Kaimili Pasha sent letters to Baloul Pasha, the governor of Bayazeed, enjoining him to furnish the necessary guard through the Koordish tribes; and his Excellency also caused orders to be addressed to all the village chiefs along the route, directing them to receive Dr. Wolff as his friend, and to furnish him with every thing he might require, (horses, &c. &c.) I wrote to Wolff by the cavasses, so that he will be aware of all this kindness on the part of our excellent Governor. Although I have not heard of his

arrival at Tabreez, I look for him about the 1st of December, and will use my utmost endeavours to get him off for Trebizonde on the 4th. Until I see him I shall be anxious about his dress, for our weather is now as stormy and cold as that through (here) which he passed on his way to Bokhara, and I fear he has been fleeced of the skins I rigged for him! Then his excitement was equal to one great coat; now the good pilgrim has for his travelling companions regrets for the victims of Bokhara, and the daily misery of riding and resting in the filthy stable-hovels of Armenia. He has performed a deed of almost unexampled goodness, and I hope he may meet with a commensurate reward,—I mean in this world. Whilst I am writing you these hurried lines, a storm of snow is raging without, and the desolate appearance of the landscape would lead an Englishman (could he view it) to estimate Wolff's courageous task. Next week I hope to announce to you his passage over the first snowy passes.

Believe me, very truly yours,

(Signed) W. F. WILLIAMS.

On Saturday, January 4th, I left Hassan Kaleh, and arrived at the small village where I found a takhtrawan sent to me by his Excellency the Kamil Pasha of Erzroom, and Seraskier of Kurdistaun. On the 5th of January I left that village in the Pasha's takhtrawan, and set out for Erzroom. Colonel Williams, Mr. Redhouse, and Colonel Farrant came out to meet me. I was in such a state of debility and nervousness, and so eaten up by vermin all over the body, that I was not able to walk. Colonel Williams rode, therefore, back to Erzroom before me, and ordered immediately a good Turkish bath, gave me his own linen, and then brought me to his hospitable dwelling, where I found my dear old friends, Mr. and Mrs. Redhouse, and Mr. Brant, the consul, Mr. Calvert, Dr. Dickson, Mr. Peabody, and the American missionary, who sent me clothes. Colonel Farrant shook hands with me cordially. He is a fine, open, English soldier. He was the appointed secretary of legation to Teheraun.

For five days poor Colonel Williams was engaged in putting the vermin off my body, and it would have been of no

use if Dr. Dickson had not given me an ointment to kill them. I was not allowed to walk about in the streets, as they were covered with ice, and slippery; but as we had a nice terrace, Colonel Williams took me there every day, dressed in Mrs. Redhouse's fur cloak, red comforter, fur gloves, and Mr. Redhouse's big boots, which gave me the appearance of a Russian nobleman. These walks refreshed me so much, that I felt renewed in me the hope, which I had given up, that I should be able to bear the fatigues of the last stage of my journey by land to Trebizond, when the doctor said the sea air would thoroughly restore me to health, strength, and good spirits. His Excellency, the Pasha, sent to me his brother to inquire after the state of my health; and so did the other Turkish authorities.

As I have already given a description of my dear friends, James Brant and Colonel Williams, I must say only a few words of Colonel Farrant, who was sent by government to Mosul, in order to ascertain the reasons of the massacre of the Nestorian Christians by the Kurds. He is a fine, straight-forward fellow. He had heard a great deal of me, as he said, and Sir John Mc Neill had told him the story of the famous wasps which stung me twenty years ago, at Bosra, on which account I had made such a noise in the house, that I awoke the whole family of Colonel Taylor from sleep. It is singular that such an insignificant story about the sting of wasps should have travelled from Bosra to Bushire; thence to Teheraun, and excited the attention of the great diplomatist Sir John Mc Neill, so that I was reminded of it, after twenty years, by Colonel Sheil at Teheraun, by Colonel Farrant at Erzroom, and by Mr. Alison at Constantinople; and I dare say, as Sir John Mc Neill is at Edinburgh, he will have made all the scientific societies of the Athens of the North acquainted with it, and probably it has even reached Downing-street.

Mr. Redhouse was formerly dragoman to the Porte. He has written a Turkish Dictionary, which the Sultan has

dered to be printed; and has also published a Grammar of the Ottoman language, which I think that every person who wishes to be employed in any Oriental embassy ought to possess. The British government should appoint Mr. Redhouse Professor of the Turkish literature in one of our English universities. I received at Erzroom the melancholy letter from Dr. Casolani, announcing the death of dear Mrs. Bonham, from Tabreez, which nearly overpowered my already sinking spirits.

During my stay at Erzroom, Ameer Abul Kasem, the ambassador from Bokhara for her Majesty Queen Victoria, arrived there; for, though he was told by Colonel Sheil that he would not be received by the court of St. James, he nevertheless was determined to proceed on his way to Constantinople, as he had also letters for the Sultan.

Previous to my departure from Erzroom, I received the following kind letter from Sir. S. Canning:

My dear Sir, Buyukdere, Oct. 1, 1844.

I hope this letter will meet you on your return from Bokhara; if not, the Turkish letters, which I now hasten to forward, may possibly be of some service to you. At all events, they will show the interest which Turks, as well as Christians, take in your safety. Her Majesty's government have shown a laudable zeal on your behalf, by instructing me officially to exert myself for you. I cannot help fearing, that if the former letters have not helped you, these are not likely to prove of much use. But, at all events, they may as well be sent to you.

It must be consoling to you to observe the interest which you have generally inspired; and I assure you that no persons feel a larger share in that interest than Lady C. and myself.

May God protect you, my dear Sir, and restore you to those who are capable of appreciating your talents and virtues!

Believe me very sincerely yours,

STRATFORD CANNING.

Never shall I forget my noble friend Sir. S. Canning. I feel towards him an enthusiasm that I never felt to any other; and how should I feel otherwise to one who has given a

greater blow to Muhammedanism than any ambassador ever did? With one word he, with the assistance of the great Guizot at Paris, has overthrown one of the fundamental laws of Muhammedanism. The abolition of the cruel law of the Muhammedan code respecting the capital punishment of apostates from Islam, is an achievement that any government may well pride itself on, and Lord Aberdeen owes this to our distinguished ambassador at Constantinople. I am not anxious to deny his lordship the full merit due to any portion of his foreign policy. I have shown how defective some branches of the foreign department must be, in the course of this work; but I am no opponent of the late government, no partisan to any general attack on their policy, and am ready on all occasions to acknowledge any benefit that I see arising from their measures, whether it be the abolition of a cruel law of Islam, or the erection of a Christian church within the limits of the British consulate, or in fact any other measure tending to the further promotion of philanthropic and Christian sentiments, to the advancement of the former of which we are bound as men, and to that of the latter as more than *men*,— as Christians.

I called, with Colonel Williams, Colonel Farrant, and Mr. Brant, on his Excellency Kamil Pasha. He told me that the ambassador from Bokhara had just visited him, when he asked him about the extent and power of Bokhara; upon which he gave the following exaggerated statement: That the kingdom of Bokhara was six hundred farsaghs in length, and that the king of Bokhara has two hundred thousand regular troops in continual pay, and eight hundred pieces of artillery. Kamil Pasha then asked what had become of Stoddart and Conolly? when he gave the following lying statement: That Stoddart had arrived at Bokhara. Soon after his arrival, the king observed that many of the Serkerdeha had become rebellious; he inquired into the matter, and his Majesty discovered that Colonel Stoddart had been the instigator of the rebellion.

With regard to Conolly, he gave the following statement: That Conolly had been at Khokand, when the king from Bokhara arrived with his army there; that Conolly was made a prisoner, and he did not know his fate. He denied altogether that he had been sent to England, and simply said that his mission was to the Sultan.

The evening before my departure from Erzroom, all my English friends, and also Colonel Dainesi, the Russian commissioner, and Signor Garibaldi, the Russian vice-consul, Signor Bertoni, and the American missionaries, assembled in the house of Colonel Williams, where they dined, and drank most cordially my health.

On the 27th January a cavass from Kamil Pasha, and another cavass of Mr. Brant, the consul, with a takhtrawan-driver, arrived at the door of Colonel Williams. Colonel Williams, Colonel Farrant, Mr. Brant, Messrs. Calvert, Guarracino, Garibaldi, Bekir Pasha, a Turkish gentleman who had been in England, mounted their horses, and I entered my takhtrawan, and they accompanied me three hours to Elijeh. My kind-hearted friends then took a hearty leave of me, embraced me, and then returned to Erzroom, whilst I prosecuted my journey towards Trebizond. Colonel Farrant, a lively cordial soldier, became a great friend of mine, so that I called him my nephew, and he called me his uncle.

I continued my journey and arrived on the 28th of January at Mey-Mansoor, inhabitedby Mussulmans. On the 29th we arrived at Saaza; on the 30th at Massad. On the 31st at Beyboot, where I lodged in the house of an Armenian, not of the best disposition. On the 1st of February we were obliged to remain at Beyboot. Dr. Frankfurter, a Jew from Presburg, in Hungary, was stationed there by the Turkish government as medical man to superintend the place of quarantine. On the 2nd of February we arrived at Jaajee Koy. On the 3rd of February we reached Gumush Khane, where I lodged in the house of a respectable Turk. He was

an old man: his name was Mustapha. On the 4th February we arrived at Artasa. On the 5th at Yerkopri. On the 6th of February at Yeseer Oglu. I received at this place the following letter from Mr. Stevens, the vice-consul of Trebizond.

My dear Sir, Trebizond, 6th Feb., 1845.

I received last evening your note from Ardassi, and I hasten to send you out my cavaz, Mehmed Agha, with the enclosed letters, which have accumulated here for you; and also to write you these lines to welcome you back to Trebizond, where I hope you will arrive in safety to-morrow morning. I shall be at the lazaretto, and bring with me my colleagues. An apartment is being prepared for you. I presume the ambassador from Bokhara will arrive to-day.

My cavaz has orders to communicate with you, and place himself under your orders in quarantine. Send him into the lazaretto at least an hour before you reach to-morrow, to give me warning.

Mrs. Stevens and my sister send you compliments.

Yours faithfully,

Fras. J. Stevens.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Arrival at Trebizond—Folly of Land Quarantine there. Ambassador from Bokhara arrives. One of his old Friends the Makhrams calls on Dr. Wolff—Dr. Wolff feels reluctant to renew the Intimacy—Visits received by Dr. Wolff when in Quarantine. Letter from Colonel Farrant—Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Bokhara Ambassador gets Pratique one day before Dr. Wolff—Singular Conduct of the Pasha of Trebizond. Letter from Mr. Brant. Departure for Constantinople—Sinope and Samsoon—Arrival at Constantinople. Dr. Wolff preaches on board the *Virago*. Letters from Sir Stratford Canning, the Honourable Mr. Wellesley, and Lady Canning. Kindness of the Legation. Curious Painting of St. Bernard. Letter from the Rev. H. D. Leeves. Arrival of seven Franciscan Friars at Constantinople, expelled *from* Russia for their refusal to swear Allegiance to the Czar—Sympathy excited for them. Power of the Romish Church greatly curtailed by the Czar. Letter from Sir Stratford Canning. Visit to Saint Sophia. The Missionaries call on Dr. Wolff—Schauffler; his extraordinary Acquirements in Language—Conversations with Count Stürmer. Santa Clara, the Court-Preacher at Vienna—his Views on Transfiguration—his Description of Faith—Punishment of Death for Apostasy abolished—the Declaration of the Porte. Letter of Mr. Brant. Introduction of Dr. Wolff to the Grand Vizier, the Reis Effendi, the Shekeeb Effendi, and the Sheikh Islam—Introduction to Greek Patriarchs. Liturgies of St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and St. Gregory. The Patriarch visits Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff preaches at the Legation, and in other places—Kindness of Lady Canning. Letter from the Honourable Mr. Wellesley. Dr. Wolff embarks for England. Arrives at Smyrna—Meets there Lord Clarence Paget and the Rev. H. D. Leeves. Quarantine of Malta—Lord Lorton visits Dr. Wolff in Quarantine—The Bishop of Gibraltar also sees him in Quarantine. Then sails for Gibraltar; on his arrival there receives Letters from the Governor, Sir Robert Wilson, and the Reverend Dr. Burrow. Reaches Southampton on April 9th—Letter of Bishop Doane—Meets at Southampton Captain Grover, Lady Georgiana, and his Son—Starts for London—Returns Thanks to Almighty God for his Preservation, in Trinity Church, Gray's Inn-road. Public Meeting at Exeter Hall—Noble Character of Captain Grover. Letter from the Rev. R. W. Stoddart. Correspondence and Papers relating to the Fate of Lieut. Wyburd—Dr. Wolff rejects the proffered Reward for the recovery of Lord Ellenborough's Letter—Correspondence with Mr. Schwarz regarding Giovanni. Pope Pius XI. a Personal

Friend and Pupil of Dr. Wolff—his liberal Sentiments; his Piety and Benevolence. Prince Hohenlohe the Miracle-monger—his unworthy Qualities—his Hypocrisy detected and punished. General Jochmus. Strictures on the Bishopric of Jerusalem. Government repays the £400 advanced by Captain Grover. Conclusion.

I ARRIVED on the 7th of February at the place of quarantine at Trebizond. It is strange to hear of quarantine on land, and it is one of the most foolish things I ever heard of; for until a caravan arrives at Trebizond, it must have touched all the neighbouring places which are not in quarantine. All the answer I can give is, that all the attempts of the Turks at civilization appear farcical. A room was assigned to me close by the ambassador of Bokhara. He did not himself come near me, but what is very extraordinary, a Makhram sent after us by the Ameer called on me, and he told me that he believed that the Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, had met with his deserts already, or would certainly meet with punishment shortly. I confess that I was not easy in his company: though I know that people will think that my fear was imaginary, I am not ashamed to confess it. For one thing must be observed, which I have omitted to mention in speaking of Bokhara; that the king and Abdul Samut Khan are connected with the people called the Ismaelee, whom the Ameer sends for some great purposes always to murder people whom he suspects, like the Old Man of the Mountain, the chief of the Assassins. Thus, for instance, one of his Serkerdeha, whom he suspected, and who had fled to Shahr-Sabz, was murdered in the palace of the Khan of Shahr-Sabz, and the head was brought in triumph to Bokhara two months before my arrival. It was said that he was suspected to have been a friend of Stoddart.

I have already adverted to the circumstance that one of the Ameer's brothers was murdered at Khokand, and another at Orenbourg; and besides this, that Makhram, whose name was Shereef Sultaun, whenever he came to me, desired me to send away my servants. It may be objected that the Ameer would not do such a thing, for he would put in jeopardy his

own ambassador; but to this I answer, such an argument is quite ridiculous, for a savage like the Ameer does not care a straw for the life of his ambassador. And if the report stated first in the *Times* be true, that he killed that ambassador on his return, then I assert that he would not have cared if the Sultan had killed his ambassador. It may be objected, also, that the Nayeb would not do such a thing, for he is in the power of the Ameer; but to this I answer, that it remains still to be seen whether the Ameer will put to death the Nayeb, or the Nayeb the Ameer. Both are bent upon each other's destruction, and the self-interests of both cause each to delay the execution of the deed.

During my stay in the quarantine, I was visited by the English, Turkish, and Russian consuls, and also the excellent American missionaries, Messrs. Benjamin and Bliss, who all of them sent me daily European dinners, and visited me daily; and during my stay in the quarantine, I received a letter from Colonel Farrant, which I subjoin.

My dear Doctor, Erzeroom, 31st January, 1845.

I write you a few lines to inquire after my good old uncle's health, and hope sincerely this may find you safe and sound at Trebisonde. We all miss you very much here. No news from Persia. Our gholam arrived in twenty-seven days from Teheran, and was twelve days between Turcomanchaie and Tikmedash. What a lucky escape you had! Bonham writes me that he is broken and destroyed, and takes his little boy home in May. I see *the book* you expected has arrived here for you. Good by, my dear Doctor; I wish you health and every good, and a happy meeting with Lady Georgiana and Master Charles Henry Drummond, and that your severe trials may meet with their just reward, for you have performed a long and perilous journey.

God bless you. Always yours most sincerely,

J. Farrant.

Mind you do not tell the riddle, "My first it * * *" We have had *no* earthquakes since you left. Mollah Medhee sends a million salaams, and begs me to tell you that those *two* turquoise rings were sent you by the Chief-priest's brother of Meshed. Adieu; take care of yourself. J. F.

On another occasion, the following reached me from Sir Stratford Canning:—

My dear Sir, Constantinople, February 7, 1845.

I had much pleasure in receiving your letter from Erzroom, and I congratulate you most cordially on having surmounted with so much fortitude the many difficulties, privations, and dangers with which you have had to contend in the course of your benevolent and bold enterprise. It is well that men of your generous character should be under the special safeguard and direction of Providence.

We shall be happy to see you here, and to assist in rendering your pause at Constantinople gratifying and comfortable to you. I understand that you are to put up at the Southgates', though I know not how this is to be managed in the absence of the Bishop.

The box of shawls has never reached us; if it had, Lady Canning would have had much pleasure in forwarding it, without availing herself of your kind permission.

Dr. Bennett has abandoned for the present his thoughts of retiring. I understand that your converted friend has returned to Meshed, and I think Colonel Williams has counselled you wisely in that respect. I do not wonder at your expressing yourself so strongly in favour of the Colonel. He has always taken the strongest interest in you. With every good wish from Lady Canning and the children, I beg you will believe me,

Very sincerely yours,

Stratford Canning.

One day before our pratique, the Bokhara ambassador received his, as he had entered one day before me. During his stay in the quarantine, he received every day his victuals from the Pasha, Abdullah by name, who, a few weeks before my arrival, was forced by the Porte to make an apology to the British vice-consul in person, for having grossly insulted him. This person differed widely from the former Pasha of Erzroom. He could not conceal his hatred against Christians, and especially Europeans; and therefore, whilst he treated the Bokhara ambassador with all distinction, he took not the slightest notice of me.

I must give an instance in point, to illustrate the character

of the Bokhara ambassador. He had left Bokhara with seven attendants. With these he reached Teheraun. To my greatest surprise he arrived at Trebizond with four-and-twenty. He managed this in the following manner. He collected at Bokhara several of the Bokhara and Khiva merchants, whom he told, "If you pay me a certain sum of money, I shall get your merchandise free into Bokhara." On my arrival at Constantinople I told the Vizier and the Reis Effendi.

I omitted to give the following characteristic letter from our consul at Erzroom.

My dear Wolff, Erzeroom, 31st January, 1845.

I hope you this morning started from Baiboot, and you ought to be at Trebizond on the evening of the 5th of February. I shall be very anxious to hear that you have got on in comfort: a man reported you well at Maimansoor. The second evening I feared you would not get to Khoshappoonah. Do get to England as fast as you can, and do not daudle at Trebizond and Constantinople. Once with Lady Georgiana you will be happy and comfortable, and will be properly attended to; and I trust you will soon regain your health, and forget the cut-throats of Bokhara. Write to me when you are at home, and let me know where your living is situated, for I shall one day come and see you. Remember me to our excellent kind friend David Baillie.

God bless and preserve you, my dear old fellow, and restore you to your wife and child; and may you enjoy many many years of health and comfort in a snug living, and after a long life of usefulness may you descend honoured to the grave, soothed by the recollection of a well-spent life, and the opening hopes and prospects of a better. With sincere respect and esteem, believe me, my dear Wolff,

Your affectionate friend,

James Brant.

After I had left quarantine, I took up my abode with Mr. Stevens, from whom I experienced the most cordial reception; and after having visited the Greek church, I set out in an Austrian steamer for Constantinople with Captain Clician. The Bokhara ambassador embarked with his whole escort, but he had no room in the cabin.

The steamer stopped for a few hours at two remarkable places, Samsoon and Sinope, in Paphlagonia. Amisus is the ancient name of Samsoon, which was colonized by the Athenians and embellished by Mithridates,—taken by Lucullus, then by Antony, ruined by the tyrant Strabo, again exalted by Augustus after the victory near Actium. Both places, Sinope as well as Samsoon, were governed after this by the son of Isphandiar, then taken by Bayazid the Lame, then by Bayazid the Lightning. Khasee Thselebe, nephew of Khaayz Adden, of the Seljuck dynasty, was master of Sinope. He carried on piracy against the Genoese. There are in both places many mines, and they are both inhabited by Greeks and Turks, and Muhammedans of Greek origin, who in secret profess the Greek religion. Sinope is the birth-place of Diogenes. An interesting account of both these places is given by Joseph Von Hammer, in his *History of the Ottoman Empire.*

I left Trebizond on the 20th, and reached Constantinople on the 23rd of February. The moment I arrived in the harbour of Constantinople, the steamer *Tagus* was sailing for England; and as her Majesty's ship *Virago* was there, commanded by Captain Otway, I sent a note announcing my arrival, without knowing him personally. He immediately sent a boat after me with a midshipman, and as it was Sunday I preached in her Majesty's ship *Virago* to the officers and crew; and scarcely had I done preaching, before the following note came from my dear dear friend, Sir Stratford Canning.

My dear Sir, British Embassy, Sunday, February 23, 1845.

I rejoice to hear that you arrived at Constantinople this morning, and hope that you are well enough to partake of our dinner to-day at seven. Come to us if you can, and afford me an opportunity of saying in person how cordially I congratulate you on your providential escape from so many dangers and perilous fatigues. Believe me, faithfully yours,

STRATFORD CANNING.

When I had finished preaching, breakfasted, and received a shaving from one of the sailors, I called on their excellent Excellencies Sir Stratford and Lady Canning. Her ladyship at once told me that she had prepared a room in the palace for me; but as a new attaché, Mr. Douglas, had arrived, her ladyship could not receive me in the palace, but had taken rooms for me in the Hôtel d'Angleterre, where all my expenses should be paid. At M. Missieri's, the British hotel, I met Lord Clarence Paget, Lord Maidstone, Lord Anson, Mr. Rashleigh, M.P., Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Hammond, &c.

On the 24th of February I received the enclosed letter of the 4th of February, from the Honourable Mr. Wellesley, first secretary to the legation.

Dear Sir, Pera, February 24, 1845.

Although I have not the advantage to be personally known to you, I trust that your acquaintance with my mother will excuse my setting aside all forms, and proposing to you to come and dine with me to-morrow at seven o'clock. It will give Mrs. Wellesley and myself the greatest pleasure to have this opportunity of making your acquaintance.

Believe me, dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

H. Wellesley.

I received also, among many other communications, the following from dear Lady Canning:

Dear Dr. Wolff,

If it would not be too fatiguing for you, I think it would be best for you to be with us by three o'clock; when you could give a little lecture to the children, as you promised them, after dinner being too late; and then you might satisfy also the wishes of your friends at Missieri's by returning early there. We hope to settle this evening about next Sunday's plans.

Believe me, very truly yours,

Sunday. E. C. Canning.

I give these documents to show the great spirit of kindness and affection which warmed every breast in the legation, from its distinguished chief and his charming lady downwards, to a humble individual like myself. I saw here at Constantinople,

in the house of the Roman Catholic priest on whom I called, an old picture representing St. Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in the following manner. His head was surrounded with a crown of thorns, upon his shoulders a heavy cross; near it a spear and staff,—on the edge of it a sponge was fixed; around his body ropes were wound; in the left hand he held a lantern, in the right hand a basket with scourges,—nails, hammers, and tongs; a pillar stood before him,—near it a bason with water, and upon it *a cock*. Under it the words were written—from Ephesians, chap. vi. verse 11, "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil."

The last communication I ever received from an individual whose virtues made me as proud of his acquaintance as that of any of the most distinguished parties here, my late lamented and beloved friend, the Reverend H. D. Leeves, chaplain of Athens, I give at length:—

My dear Dr. Wolff, Smyrna, March 15, 1845.

Hearing that you are in the neighbourhood, I write you a line to congratulate you sincerely upon your escape from the perils of your adventurous journey, and to say that I hope that I shall soon do the same in person, together with my daughter Mary Anne. We are here together on our way to Syria and Jerusalem, and are staying at the hospitable house of Mr. Lewis. We learn that you come down here by the boat which leaves Constantinople on Monday, and will therefore be here on Wednesday; and I was charged by Mr. Lewis this morning to say, that he meant to write to you; but as I proposed doing so on my coming into town, he has charged me to say, that he hopes on your arrival you will come up to Boujah, and take up your quarters with him. This I hope, also, you will do, as we shall then be under the same roof, and be together during our stay. We cannot leave for Syria till the 27th; and you, I suppose, will like to halt here for a short time before you proceed to England.

I shall send this to the care of the ambassador, from whom as well as from Lady Canning you are, I doubt not, receiving every

kindness and assistance. With every good wish, and expecting very soon to shake you by the hand,

I am, dear Wolff, yours affectionately,

H. D. Leeves.

Seven Franciscan friars arrived at Constantinople, who were expelled from Russia for having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Emperor. Great sympathy was excited among the Roman Catholics at Constantinople about them. There is no doubt that the Papal power has received a blow, and will receive a still mightier, in the Russian empire.

I received, on the 1st of March, the following letter of Sir Stratford Canning:—

Dear Sir, Pera, Saturday, March 1, 1845.

Your letters shall be duly forwarded when the messenger goes. If I thought you would be ready with your sermon—a regular church discourse—to-morrow, I would willingly propose to Dr. Bennett to lend you the pulpit then, without waiting for another week; but I have not yet seen the Doctor; the rain has, perhaps, detained him in the country.

I understand you wanted a firman for travelling with; but if you go away by sea, how can you want a firman?

With respect to the dedication of your Journal, my name, if you really desire it, is at your service; but I should like to see the record of so much humanity and resolution placed under the auspices of a nobler or a brighter name.

I think you told me that you are to dine with the Russian envoy to-day. I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you at dinner to-morrow.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

Stratford Canning.

Lords Clarence Paget, Maidstone, Anson, and Ponsonby, Captain Otway, Mr. Rashleigh, M.P., and others, visited the great mosque of Saint Sophia, and they invited me to go with them, which I did. Thus have I now seen the greatest churches upon earth,—St. Peter's at Rome, St. Paul's at London, and St. Sophia's at Constantinople.

My missionary friends, Schauffler, Goodell, and Dwight, also called on me. Mr. Southgate has since been made Bishop, by the Episcopal church of America, for all Turkey and its dependencies. Mr. Southgate is a worthy man, but I abstain from any judgment about the institution of bishoprics undertaken by either the Church of England or America, as I reserve that for a future work, in which I shall develope the utility of those bishoprics, and the impression they have made among the Eastern churches.

I have only to say a few words of Schauffler. This is an extraordinary man. When I went from Persia through the Crimea, and arrived at Odessa, I met there a young man, a German, William Schauffler by name, who copied my Journal, though he did not completely understand English. He was a turner by trade. I sent Schauffler, at my expense, to America, and recommended him to the celebrated Miss Hannah Adams, authoress of the *History of the Jews*; and to Jeremiah Everts, Secretary to the American Board of Commissioners for foreign missions. Schauffler studied at the Andover seminary, in America, under Moses Stuart; and after this at Paris, under Silvestre de Sacy. He then went to Vienna and translated the whole Bible into Jewish-Spanish. He now knows twenty-four languages, and is beyond all doubt the most eminent missionary in the Levant. I cannot but speak with gratitude of him, and the rest of the missionaries, for their kindness.

Count Stürmer, the Austrian internuncio, and his Countess, Mr. Titoff, the Russian ambassador, and Madame Titoff, frequently invited me to dinner, and our conversation was on topics of the highest importance. William Palmer, of Magdalen College, I observe, is well known by the Russian church, and is highly esteemed. I conversed on this occasion with the learned Count Stürmer on the literature of Austria, especially about Royko at Prague; Von Hammer, Justell, Lorenz, Grueber, and others; also about the famous preacher

Abraham of Santa Clara, court-preacher at Vienna. Though this man displays in his sermons considerable coarseness, yet the depth of theology exhibited also by him is surprising. His view on the transfiguration of our Lord upon the mount is, in my opinion, the correct one: "Christ the Lord takes for a time three beloved disciples with him upon Mount Tabor, and shows to them, in his transfiguration, the glory *in compendio*, heaven in a *sketch*, beatitude in a *model*. He shows them also, what no pencil of any painter ever could have described, what no tongue ever could have pronounced; and certainly, the *glory of his majesty*, and the *majesty of his glory* could never have entered any heart." And this is what I always say, that the *transfiguration* served as a shadowing forth of the second coming of Christ in glory. The description of faith given by the same Santa Clara is excellent: "All other virtues take their origin from faith, as little *rivers* take theirs from a large fountain. Therefore Augustin says, 'Just as in the root of a tree the least beauty is not perceived, and yet all that is beautiful and good found on it is derived from that root, so does every thing spring from the great foundation of faith. Therefore the Fathers have compared faith to the sun; for as all creatures of the world receive light from the sun, in the same way those supernatural truths revealed to men have their origin in the virtue of faith.' Yea, more: all creatures receive their sustenance of life from the sun; thus is it just, that man should ascribe the beginning as well as his progress in spiritual life to his faith; and just as all things on earth receive their beauty and ornament from light by *means of the sun*, thus all receive *perfection and grace* by God from the power of faith, whatever man himself does. Finally, as every thing receives its necessary heat from the *sun*, thus must man receive the fire of love and *burning zeal* through *faith*. Farther, faith is that pillar of light, which leads *human reason* forth from the Egypt of darkness and error as a faithful conductor."

Sir Stratford Canning's exertions, in union with the French and Russian ambassadors, to effect the abolition of the barbarous law of putting Christians to death who embraced Muhammedanism and then returned to Christianity, were crowned with the most distinguished success. The following declaration was issued by the Sublime Porte :—

It is the special and constant intention of his Highness the Sultan, that his cordial relations with the High Powers should be preserved, and that a powerful reciprocal friendship be maintained and increased. The Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent henceforward the execution and putting to death of the Christian who is an apostate.

Several Armenians were at Erzroom, who had embraced the Muhammedan religion. They were taken by Colonel Williams and Mr. Brant from the palace of the Pasha, and have now openly returned to the Christian religion. There ought to be established a Society for the protection of Eastern Christians and Jews.

While here, I received from Mr. Brant the following letter.

My dear Wolff, Erzeroom, 18 Feb. 1845.

I got your lines of the 1st from Baiboot, and 11th from the lazaretto, Trebizond. I delivered the letter contained in the former, and all the messages and remembrances contained in the latter. I shall be very glad to hear that you have embarked in a direct steamer to England from Constantinople: one should be sailing about the 20th instant from Constantinople, and I hope you will be there in time to profit by it, because it would save you a month,

I was quite enchanted to hear that the tables were turned, and that the Bokhara Elchee is afraid of you, instead of your being afraid of him; does he apprehend you are going to poison him?

I should be glad to hear the report of Abdul Samut Khan's death being confirmed, as such a monster was unfit to tread God's earth: and his punishment was certainly merited, if crimes ever merit punishment in this world. He will not disturb your mind any more I hope.

I was pleased to hear, as well from yourself as from others, that your health was so much improved; and I hope by the time you

arrive in England, you will be quite yourself again. After your arrival, at some leisure moment think of Erzeroom, and let me hear from you. Give me your address, and I will write to you. I hope you will be presented to some country living in a pleasant part of the country, and that you will then give up all thought of further wanderings. Do not fail to remember me to our excellent friend David Baillie, when you see him.

Farrant is talking of starting for Persia in a few days: the roads are very bad, and will not be improved by a heavy fall of snow which has just occurred.

Our Pasha is recalled, and all the people of Erzeroom and its immediate neighbourhood regret this very much, most particularly as his successor is not very well spoken of.

Present my respectful compliments to Lady Georgiana; and wishing you may find her ladyship and your son in good health, and be perfectly so when you meet,

Believe me, my dear Wolff,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

JAMES BRANT.

I give this kind letter with the intent, that it may appear perfectly evident to my readers, that the feeling entertained by Colonel Sheil as to Abdul Samut Khan is not participated in by the other officers of our foreign consulate. I await daily news from Bokhara, which will confirm the statement in this letter of the death of Abdul Samut Khan by order of the Ameer. I think I can say that all our *corps diplomatique* (with the exception of Colonel Sheil), and the whole of the Russian, Austrian, and French, sympathize with me in my unmitigated abhorrence of that murderer.

By order of Sir Stratford Canning, I was introduced by Messrs. Frederick and Stephen Pisani to their Excellencies the Grand Vizier, Raoof Pasha, and to the Reis Effendi, Shekeeb Effendi, who was formerly in England, and to the Sheikh Islam. All of them expressed their great sympathy with my sufferings, and their delight to see me again. His Excellency got me introduced to the Greek patriarch, the successor of St. Chrysostom in the church of Constantinople, who made me a present of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysos-

tom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Theologos, of which I insert an abstract:—

Service Book: comprising the Divine and Holy Eucharistical Services of John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, and Gregory Dialogus (alias Theologos), namely, for the Sanctified.— Moreover, the Orders for all the Ordinations; the Office of the Marriage Vow, and Crowning; the Office of the Lesser Purification, and Portion of the Communion; and other necessary Prayers for the Chief Priests. Now published for the use of the Chief Priests, by the combined care of the Most Holy Superintendents of the Patriarchal Typography at Constantinople, 1820, at the Greek Press in the Patriarchate, by permission and order of the Holy Synod.

To our most venerable Fathers, the most holy Patriarchs, and to our most beloved Brethren, all the Chief Priests, befitting homage and due salutation. It is fit that the husbandman that labours should first partake of the fruits, as the holy Apostle has already spoken. They cultivate, some here, some there, as to every one it is committed; and they gather as much fruit as the tillage is calculated to produce. Since then, we have undertaken to labour at the common patriarchal typography of the nation; but there have joined themselves, and do join themselves, all, so to speak, by spontaneous love of excellence, and unanimous alacrity; but more actively than the rest they who are comprehended in the hierarchical order, as having sown the seed by their labour as in this soil, it is fit that they before others should reap also of the fruits. Moreover, the book called the *Archicraticon* (Book of Offices) having fallen short, we thought it right to publish this. Besides, we have introduced many things, which in previous editions were omitted, but which seemed necessary and indispensable; having also corrected whatever was erroneous in them. And they would have been distributed gratuitously to men of the same order, to be the first-fruits, did it not appear safer that the things belonging to individuals should be dispersed to the public, than that the things of the public should be dispersed to individuals. Thus, then, having chosen the safer part, accept this book, and with us carry it forth, sowing in this furrow a more abundant seed, that it may bear a larger crop. Farewell!

THE SUPERINTENDENTS OF THE
PATRIARCHAL TYPOGRAPHY.

His Holiness paid me back my visit. He, as well as the Armenian patriarch, spoke with high regard of Dr. Tomlinson, and called him their dear brother. The Greek patriarch observed, "'This is a Bishop with some sense." His further remarks I shall notice in a future publication. I also called on the Armenian patriarch, and on the Armenian Catholics: all of them treated me with the greatest kindness, and paid me the compliment that I had always acted in my missionary pursuits in such a manner as not to grieve the Eastern churches, since I had directed my attention to those out of the church. The Bishop of the Catholic Armenians conversed a great deal on Christian prudence, and he related to me the following story in illustration of this virtue. Persen, a Roman Catholic priest, resided at London during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to afford spiritual assistance to the Roman Catholics there. He was esteemed among the nobility on account of his education and accomplishments; but he was forced to conceal from them that he was a Roman Catholic priest, for his life was endangered. One day he was invited by the nobility, when, according to the custom of the country, the toast was given, "Long life to Elizabeth, Head of the Church!" What could Persen do? Just at this moment some one came into the street offering shoes for sale. Persen opened a window, and ordered the shoemaker to come up stairs, when he laid a wager with the shoemaker, that he (Persen) could make a dozen of shoes in half an hour. He whispered something to his servants, who brought to him twelve boots, of which he cut off the upper parts, by which they were transformed into shoes. By this stratagem the toast was forgotten.

I preached several times, not only in the English embassy, but also in the house of Sir Stratford Canning, and expounded my views on the personal reign of Christ in the palace of Count Stürmer and Mr. Titoff, in the presence also of Prince Dolgorouki, Mr. Lecoque, the Prussian ambassador, and others.

On the eve of my departure, Sir Stratford and Lady Canning had so arranged matters, that I had nothing to pay, either for my stay at Constantinople or my journey to England. Lady Canning herself took care to have my trunks packed up, and sent a present of an Armenian scarf to Lady Georgiana. I received the inclosed letter from the Hon. Mr. Wellesley:—

My dear Sir, Constantinople, March 20, 1845.

Here is the letter you wished to have for my father. I hope to find a moment this morning to bid you good-by; in case, however, I should be prevented, pray accept Mrs. Wellesley's and my best wishes for a prosperous journey home.

Yours very faithfully,

H. Wellesley.

I then embarked in the Oriental Peninsular Company's steamer *The Duke of Cornwall*, for England. We stopped twelve hours at Smyrna. Immediately on my arrival there, Lord Clarence Paget, whom I had seen at Constantinople, sent a boat from his ship, the *Aigle*, to invite me to breakfast, where I met the Rev. W. Lewis, chaplain, and my now dear departed friend, the Rev. H. D. Leeves. I then embarked again with two fellow-passengers, Captain Irvine and Captain Macpherson, who took brotherly care of me during the voyage to Malta, where they disembarked.

I stopped in quarantine at Malta two days, to wait for passengers from India, *viâ* Alexandria. During our short stay at Malta, Lord Viscount Lorton, to whom I have the honour to be chaplain, and the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, called on me, and regretted that they could not shake hands with me in quarantine. At last Sir Joseph Sackville, Colonel Ovans, and seventy other passengers, arrived from Alexandria.

We sailed that same day, and arrived on the 2nd of April in the harbour of Gibraltar, where I received the two following letters; one from his Excellency the governor, Sir Robert

Wilson, the other from that excellent and interesting individual, Dr. Burrow.

Dear Sir, Gibraltar, April 2nd, 1845.

It gives me great pleasure to afford you any gratification. We had accompanied you in your generous career with our best wishes, and trust your health has not been impaired.

I have only to regret no personal communication is admissible.

Yours truly,

R. Wilson, *G. G.*

My dear Sir,

I cannot express my regret and disappointment at not having it in my power to take you by the hand, and to congratulate you on your arrival in safety under the guns of a British fortress. I have looked with deep anxiety for the vessel which might be bringing you home again from your perilous, but truly Christian enterprise. We all bless God that He has been pleased to preserve you under the many trying circumstances which have passed since we last met, and trust that He has yet in store for you, even in this life, the reward of your charitable labours.

Had it been possible, I would have put myself into a boat, merely for the chance of having a few words with you alongside; but unfortunately I am confined to the house by a severe cold, which has settled in my face, and threatens to prevent my doing duty, if not attended to.

I am sorry to say that I have no newspapers of my own to offer you, but I will send and endeavour to procure some, without loss of time.

Mrs. Burrow and my family unite in best wishes with,

Dear Sir, your very faithful servant,

Wednesday, April 2, 1845. E. J. Burrow.

On the 9th of April I arrived off the Isle of Wight; on the 11th I disembarked at Southampton, where I met, on the shore, my most dear and excellent friend Captain Grover, and many other friends, all cheering me; and, a few minutes after, my dear wife and child. Captain Grover had procured an order from the Lords of the Treasury that my presents from the different sovereigns and ambassadors should be duty free.

I received at Southampton the following note from the Right Reverend George Washington Doane, Lord Bishop of New Jersey:—

Dear Dr. Wolff, Rivunde, Eve of St. Andrew, 1844.

This letter is to bear you my heart's welcome to your home. You have ever had a place in its affections since we met one day at Newark. In your generous undertaking in Bokhara you realized yourself to me: had there been time between my hearing and your starting, I should have sent my blessing to you; as it was, it followed you with daily prayers for your success and safety. When you seemed to be in danger, I invited on your behalf the prayers of the whole church. In the recent report of your deliverance I have rejoiced with thanks to God: and I now write to ask your kind remembrance of me to Lady Georgiana and your son; to assure you that you are most kindly remembered in my house, and by all your American friends; and to subscribe myself

Affectionately and faithfully yours,

G. W. Doane.

On the 12th of April I arrived in London. I embraced the first opportunity that presented itself of returning thanks to Almighty God for my preservation at Bokhara, and in the deserts of Merwe and Sarakhs, in Trinity-church, Gray's Inn Lane-road, of which my friend, the Rev. J. W. Worthington, D.D., is the incumbent. I preached there to a numerous congregation, and received on my return to England the visits and congratulations of many most distinguished individuals.

It was considered proper, on the part of the Stoddart and Conolly Committee, that a public meeting should take place in Exeter Hall: I attended it, and spoke for several hours, and was heard with the deepest attention.

To my kind friend Captain Grover, at the conclusion of this Narrative, which never would have been furnished to the public but for his manifold kindness in numerous ways, I cannot but publicly express my feeling that the most disinterested, generous, noble-minded, and zealous friend which Stoddart and Conolly could have had, and which I could

have had during the whole period of my wandering, detention in Bokhara, and after my arrival home, and the most zealous friend the British army could have, is that gentleman;—one who was no niggard, from his disinterested character, of his scanty income; one who has reproved the lukewarmness and indifference of others, whose duty it was to have shown greater zeal in the cause of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. I must here state to the public, that Captain Grover spent four hundred pounds out of his own pocket for defraying the expense of my journey; and besides that, more than two hundred pounds, in order to interest the Russian government in my behalf, on his journey for that object to St. Petersburg.

Among the various letters that I have received since my return, I have to lay before the public one from a worthy member of the Stoddart family, the Rev. R. W. Stoddart, Vicar of Hundon:—

Rev. and Dear Sir, Hundon Vicarage, near Close, Suffolk, April (May) 7th, 1845.

As a cousin of the ill-fated and much-lamented Colonel Stoddart, one of the Bokhara victims, I take the liberty of writing to you to express, as one of his relatives, a deep sense of gratitude due to you *especially*, in the risking your life in search of him and his fellow-captives. Only weekly receiving a paper in this retired spot, I have just read, with deep regret, that the harmony of the meeting at Exeter Hall should have been so unfortunately interrupted by my cousin, the Rev. George Stoddart. I am at a loss to know the grounds of his charge against Captain Grover, evidently based upon something which he has seen in the red book published by that gentleman; but I feel that nothing justifies his interruption of a meeting, so harmonious as it appears otherwise to have been, in expressing the high sense of gratitude due to yourself, and Captain Grover as a promoter of your self-sacrificing journey, wherein your own life was in danger.

Whatever advice of my cousin's friends might have caused him for a time to assume the garb of a Mussulman, yet I felt from the first that nothing would show but that he died in the faith of Jesus, which I am glad to see confirmed by your statement; and before any would detract from his honour or Christian faith, let

men bear in mind, that a captive in a dungeon might be *made* to appear *outwardly* in the garments of any faith, but *inwardly* his heart was evidently unchanged. Also from the very first I entertained no hope of his life having been spared, and especially after the blood on our flag in the Affghanistan war; for I observed, after reading that, that without doubt poor Charles's fate was fixed; yet a superficial hope still remained upon my mind, and every letter which you have sent I have read with deep and painful interest. I think, also, our best thanks are due to Captain Grover, for his interest and sacrifice made in the good hope of rescuing a fellow-soldier from the tyrant's grasp. No praise I feel to be too much to be given to you both; and perhaps you will be kind enough, as I know not his address, to convey mine, and in them the expression of the feelings of the relatives of Colonel Stoddart, to him. My means are limited, but if you will be kind enough to tell the secretary of the Stoddart Fund to place my name down as a subscriber of a sovereign to the testimonial you so justly deserve, I shall feel obliged. I would that I could give ten times the amount; and most happy should I be to see a subscription to reimburse Captain Grover, to which I would willingly give my mite. Hoping that you will meet in another and better world with the reward due to your endeavours to rescue the captives from their dungeon, is the prayerful wish of

Yours very truly,
R. W. STODDART.

Since my return, I have entered into the following correspondence relative to the lamented Lieutenant Wyburd, which I subjoin to the present edition.

While at Malines, on my small chaplaincy of 25*l.* per annum, the following letter from Mrs. Furrell, the sister of Lieutenant Wyburd, reached me:—

Dear Sir, Vicarage Place, Kensington, 31st October, 1845.

The enclosed copy of a letter from the Foreign-office is in reply to one addressed by me to Lord Aberdeen, requesting him to obtain from you, *directly*, a full, particular, and official detail of all you know respecting the supposed fate of my unfortunate brother. Will you, therefore, again tax your memory in our behalf, and forward the same either to Lord Aberdeen or myself; if to

Lord Aberdeen, I shall feel obliged by your transmitting to me a copy of the same. With grateful remembrances to Lady Georgiana,

I remain, yours truly,

ANN FURRELL.

Copy of the Letter enclosed.

Lord Aberdeen presents his compliments to Mrs. Furrell, and in acknowledging the receipt of her letter of the 23rd instant, he begs leave to state to her, that as the additional information respecting Lieutenant Wyburd, to which Miss Wyburd and Mrs. Furrell referred in their letter of the 15th instant, was communicated to Mrs. Furrell in the first instance directly by Dr. Wolff, he considers that it would be more suitable that she should herself obtain from Dr. Wolff the full particulars of his communication to her, which from the circumstances under which it was made appears not to have been sufficiently impressed upon her mind to admit of her distinctly imparting the substance of it to Lord Aberdeen, without further reference to Dr. Wolff. Dr. Wolff is at present at Malines, and any letter which Mrs. Furrell or Miss Wyburd will address to him for the purpose above specified, will be forwarded through her Majesty's mission at Brussels, if sent to Lord Aberdeen on any Tuesday or Friday.

With regard to the request contained in Mrs. Furrell's letter of the 23rd instant, to be furnished with a copy of the instructions sent to Lieutenant-Colonel Sheil respecting Lieutenant Wyburd, Lord Aberdeen begs leave to state, that if Dr. Wolff's reply to Mrs. Furrell's inquiry should make it necessary to address any further instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Sheil, Lord Aberdeen will have the honour of communicating again with Mrs. Furrell.

Foreign Office, October 28, 1845.

I must confess this circuitous process of the Foreign-office, when the direct one of simply addressing me in person for information was before them, greatly displeased me, and I immediately replied to Mrs. Furrell, that the course of Lord Aberdeen was clear, that if he wanted information which his office could not afford him, it was easy to seek it directly and not indirectly; and I accordingly addressed a reply to Lieutenant Wyburd's sisters, with some strong reflections on Lord

Aberdeen; but as I have no wish to injure our Foreign-office, but only to improve the vigilance of some of its departments, for which I fear I am considered hostile to them, but to which I am constrained by the necessity of circumstances, I suppress the strong comments on this circuitous process which I penned at the time, and sent to the Wyburd family. The following communication from the Foreign-office then reached me:—

Sir, Foreign Office, November 14, 1844.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to transmit to you a copy of a Letter purporting to have been written by you, which has been sent to his Lordship by Mrs. Furrell; and I am to request that you will furnish this office with whatever information you may possess respecting Lieutenant Wyburd's fate, and especially his supposed presence at Bokhara.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. U. Addington.

My reply to this letter, furnishing the following details, was as follows:—

My Lord, Malines, November 18, 1845.

I had the honour to receive yesterday a letter from Mr. Addington, with an enclosed copy of my letter to Mrs. Furrell, which I beg leave to acknowledge; and I have now the honour, according to your Lordship's command, to furnish you with the following information respecting Lieutenant Wyburd's fate, though I had intended to reserve that information, together with what I still possess with regard to the fate both of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, for my third edition, which will appear in two months.

On my arrival at Merve, on my way to Bokhara, Ak Muhammed Aga Sakal of Yalatan called on me in the house of the Khaleefa, and gave to me the following account: "In the Hejira 1252, *thereabout*, corresponding with 1835, A.D., I and Saher Beyk of Tiri Salor, and others of the tribe (Tiri) of Timur Torra, accompanied by an Eljee Inglees from Asterabad (if I am not mistaken), were on the road to Organtsh, when we perceived the Haraam Zadegee (bastard), Alaman from the Pedr Sukhta (whose father ought to be burnt) Ameer Behadur of Bokhara, marching towards us. We at once knew that the Eljee was the cause, and Kouli of Or-

gantsh said, 'Those Haraam Zadegee of Bokhara shall not get hold of him,' and struck him down and took his money; but he had not much with him, and believing him to be dead, we rode off. But we were afterwards informed that he was only confused, (makhshush) and not dead, but brought to Bokhara, where he was put into prison; and we heard after this that he was put to death in spite of the *iltimas* (intercession) of the Goosh Bekee (God bless him!) at Bokhara. The name of the Eljee was Wooburd Saheb."

The Khaleefa added, "I warned the Ameer at that time, but he was too much guided by a Guzl-Bash." On my arrival at Jehaar-Joo, I received the information about Lieutenant Wyburd mentioned in my first volume, page 307 of my Narrative, second edition; but with regard to my information about him contained in vol. i. page 326, I now proceed to inform you. One night the Ameer Shab (which means Prince of the Night, and corresponds with Director of Police) had already ordered the drum to be beaten: Abbas Kouli Khan's quarter was closed. Ameer Sarog and Kaher Kouli, my Türkomaun companions, Abdullah my servant, and Dil Assa Khan with his people, being invited out to some house of a Mervee, unexpectedly the Kazi Kelaun entered my room, accompanied by many servants, and a few minutes after him a young man of most dignified appearance, with several others. The Kazi Kelaun rose, and embraced him. The young man said to me, "Swear not to tell any one here that I have been with you." I promised solemnly that "I would not tell a living soul." He replied, "I am not satisfied with this. Swear by the head of Jesus and his mother Mary, that you will not tell any one here; and only in your country you may tell the Padishah and the Vizier, with the condition not to publish it. If thou dost not swear, thou shalt be put to death." I swore. The young man then proceeded: "Stoddart and Conolly Saheb, poor men, I tried to save them, and my mother tried to save them, but in vain: we shall succeed with you." I said, "How do you know that they were killed?" He and the rest then gave to me the *most incontrovertible* and most indisputable evidences, which shall appear in my third edition.

The young man and the Kazi Kelaun then said, "But you only know half. Wyburd Saheb, a slender looking man, of firm character, who spoke Arabic and Turkish, on his way to Khiva was

overtaken, brought here, sent to the Siyah Jaa (black well), and afterwards to that 'blood-hound, the cursed' Abdul Samut Khan, and after that to the Hareem. The Goosh Bekee tried to save him, and even one of Hasrat's pleasure . . . . tried to save him; but good Goosh Bekee had lost his influence, and the boy was asked * * * * And thus Wyburd Saheb was put to death without mercy," as I stated in page 326, vol. 1, second edition, and the Kazi Kelaun and Muhammed Razool saw his head. And the Kazi Kelaun smilingly added, "Wyburd Saheb hated Islam, and would not take service with us; and when Hasrat said to him, "If you turn to Islam and take service, I will show you kindness;" Wyburd, though meagre and lean, and white like a wall, replied, "Know that I am an Englishman, and therefore I shall neither change my religion, nor enter your service. You shall see how an Englishman can die!"

The young man then said to me, "You English people love your religion." I arose from my seat, and said "Yes, very much." His —— desired me to sit down, and said, "Say, when you come home, that I shall be always the friend of England, and so will all the mullahs; and you must give me the *fatkha*, 'blessing,' for we know that you are a great derveesh." The conversation then turned upon Stoddart and Conolly, and the evidence of their execution was repeated. I wished to have the bones, which they declared to be *impracticable* to obtain, for both bodies had been cast into a *well*, and there were also the bones of many others. After they had left, an agent of Sheer Ali Khan of Khokan, in understanding with the young man, remained behind; his name was Haje Muhammed Hussein Khokaanee, together with those servants of the Ameer Shab acquainted with the interview, as Makhsoon, Habeeb, Molam, Sheybek. Timur entered the room and said, "You know who this was?" "Yes." The Haje Muhammed Hussein Khokaanee related to me that he also knew Wyburd. Mullah Benjamin Kaashee, a Jew, also entered one day my room and said, "If your Padishah has some work for me to do, I am ready. I knew Morecroft, who was killed at Ankhoy; Guthrie and Trebeck, who were poisoned at Muzaur; and Wyburd Saheb, who was taken by the Alaman of Bokhara on his way to Khiva. The Beejaara, 'poor man,' told me that the Khivites knocked him first down, took every thing of him, and then the Alaman of Bokhara brought him here, where I made his ac-

quaintance in the *Siyah Jaa*. I was liberated, but he not until he was killed."

I shall be obliged to be at London on the 27th of November, in Berner's Hotel, Berner's-street, Oxford-street, as I wish to make arrangements for the third edition. I shall leave Antwerp on the 26th, (Wednesday). I have only to add, that no other person has been made acquainted with this communication, as it was requested by your lordship. I have, &c.

(Signed) JOSEPH WOLFF.

After Lord Aberdeen had received these sad details, I was favoured with the following brief acknowledgment of my services:

Sir, Foreign Office, November 25th, 1845.

I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant, and to thank you for particulars contained in it respecting the late Lieutenant Wyburd. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

H. U. ADDINGTON.

One allusion in this correspondence relative to the indisputable evidence of the death of Stoddart and Conolly may require some explanation. I supply the details on this subject not contained in the letter, but to which allusion is made. The heads of both officers were brought to the Ameer and to the Kazi Kelaun; both saw them, and a derveesh then present exclaimed before the king, "The blood of these murdered men shall cry up to the Most High against you." On this the Ameer became so enraged, that he ordered the derveesh to be bastinadoed, and exiled from the country. The heads were then ordered to be buried, and were cast into a well, together with their bodies. The Kazi Kelaun said, "I tore my beard when I saw the heads, and they appeared to speak to me, and to reprove me for not having issued the *Fetwa* against the Ameer, to restrain him. But," he added, "I did all in my power, but in vain." Several of the servants of that young man said, "As long as we live, we shall never forget

the impression the sight of these heads made upon us. Our wives at home wept, and old Ibrahim Kouli Khan came to us and said, "A great calamity will befall the country by reason of this foul murder." Others said, "Suleiman, and several other Jews, passed the Ark the moment these heads were brought from the Ameer's presence out of the Ark. And the Jews could not abstain from weeping, and beating their breasts." Now it is very remarkable that these very Jews, who after this came to me, told me the same circumstance. The young man also said, "Several of the Court assembled in my room, and we consulted on measures to put an end to these atrocities; and all agreed that it could not be done otherwise than by effecting the death of Abdul Samut Khan." The Kazi Kelaun then said that Abdul Samut Khan, when the murder was reported to him, exclaimed, "Let them go to the devil! I have not succeeded with Dost Muhammed Khan, but I have succeeded with these Frank Haramzadekee."

I think it proper to add to the above observations, that the Jews say that these Khivites are Philistines, the Hivites of Scripture: and the people of Merw claim to be descendants of the people of Meroz. The curse of Meroz I subjoin from the Judges v. 23: "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof, because they came not to the help of the Lord against the mighty." The locality does not agree with this tradition; but old tradition has long affirmed that Meroz was the angel of the Canaanites, who was cursed by Michael the guardian angel of Israel. All I can say is, that if abominations prove kindred origin, the Khivites apparently quite equal the Hivites, or any other Canaanitish nation. Their infamy would almost induce the solid earth to throw them with loathing from her bosom, as she is described to have done in the time of old when she sickened at the enormities of the Canaanites, when the Lord gave them up at last to the exterminating sword of Joshua,

and cleansed thereby the moral atmosphere by a similar process to that which occasionally purifies the physical.

I was never more affected in my life than in penning the above truly melancholy intelligence, and I am extremely surprised to find, that while the sisters of Stoddart receive a pension from the Queen, those of Wyburd have been unaccountably neglected. It is remarkable, that the Roman Catholics, and even of late Faber affirms, that the Church of England has not one real martyr; and I say that Conolly and Wyburd are as much martyrs as St. Justin and St. Cyprian. I am therefore astonished that the sisters of Colonel Stoddart, who was a momentary apostate, and who thus in a degree has cast a stain on the English character, should have obtained a pension, and the excellent sisters of Wyburd, who showed so much sympathy in his fate, should have been altogether overlooked by the British government. Such conduct is inexplicable; and really, however I may appear an enemy to Government, I must repeat that the indifference evinced towards Mrs. Furrell and Wyburd's unmarried sister is unaccountable. I need only appeal to the noble firmness of Lieutenant Wyburd under sickness, torture, and deprivation, true to the last to his country and his God, in behalf of this assertion. On my arrival in England, I learnt that Dr. Bowring had placed before the House of Commons the petition of these unhappy ladies,—not for themselves or their necessities, but for inquiry into the facts connected with their brother's decease. They cling to the hopes of his life naturally as relatives, and are more thoughtful for him than for themselves.

During my stay at Malines, the following extraordinary communication reached me from Colonel Sheil:—

Sir, Camp, near Tehran, August 13, 1845.

I have obtained authority from the Government of India, to reimburse you the amount you expended at Bokhara in re-

covering a letter from the Governor-general of India to the ruler of that country which had not reached its destination. I accordingly transmit to you a draft for 57*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.*, being the equivalent of one hundred tillas.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
JUSTIN SHEIL.

I never felt more indignant at any communication in my life. It appeared to place a valuation on my services on behalf of the Company's agents, certainly at little more than thirty pieces of silver; and had I taken it, I should have felt myself degraded to the position of an accomplice of that villain Abdul Samut Khan. It will, however, prove to the British nation, that I looked into matters more sharply than their own resident at Teheraun, for I ascertained the fate of this letter, of which Colonel Sheil was utterly ignorant. The following was my reply :—

Sir, Malines, October 13, 1845.

I have received yesterday your kind letter with the enclosed draft, authorizing me to draw one hundred tillahs for the recovery of Lord Ellenborough's letter. As these said hundred tillahs were one of those items against which I protested when at Teheraun, and again when sent to me to London last May; as neither myself nor Abdul Samut Khan, to whose good offices I was recommended by you on my journey to Bokhara, paid one single farthing for the above-mentioned letter, which was given to me by order of the Ameer of Bokhara as a present to me, I cannot make use of the draft you kindly forwarded to me by order of the Government of India, as I am not disposed to reward the assassin Abdul Samut Khan for having committed the murder of Colonel Stoddart and my friend Conolly, Captain Wyburd and others. You will therefore be pleased to return the enclosed draft to the Government of India, and also permit me, for my own justification, to publish this present correspondence. And you would also oblige me if you could give me any information about the 3,300 rupees from India which you were empowered to draw, not one farthing of which has ever reached this country, whilst you are aware that Abdul Samut Khan made me pay for the transport of

his property from Bokhara to Meshed, brought there upon eight camels, for all my effects were scarce enough for a little donkey; so that I am now, by my journey to Bokhara, 400*l.* out of cash.

JOSEPH WOLFF.

I also considered that this money matter was a subject which the Foreign-office ought to deal with, and accordingly sent to Lord Aberdeen the following letter:—

My Lord, Malines, October 13th, 1845.

I received yesterday a letter from Colonel Sheil, dated Camp, near Teheraun, August 13, 1845, with the enclosed draft, which I take the liberty to request your Lordship to return to Colonel Sheil, with the accompanying letter; for the hundred tillahs, which the Government of India is pleased to send me for the recovery of Lord Ellenborough's letter, was one of the items of the fraudulent account of the Nayeb, Abdul Samut Khan, the murderer and spoliator of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, against which I *most solemnly protested* when at Teheraun, and again when Colonel Sheil sent to me to London those *items* forced from me in the garden of the Nayeb. And therefore, not one farthing having been spent on the recovery of that letter, either by myself or the Nayeb, I am not justified in appropriating the kind grant of the Government of India on this account; and I repeat what I stated in my narrative, that should the Nayeb receive the *three thousand* tillahs in behalf of Conolly, the British Government will have rewarded him for the assassination of brave officers. I have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
JOSEPH WOLFF.

P. S. I beg your Lordship to inform me, whether you will have any objection to the publication of this present correspondence.

His lordship did not object to the publication of these papers, and I therefore give them to the British public, to form their judgment on the same.

My observations on Giovanni Orlando, the watch-maker at Bokhara, excited the attention of Mr. Schwarz, the American consul at Vienna, and have elicited the following correspondence:—

Reverend Doctor, Vienna, October 11th, 1845.

Many, many thanks, not only for the speedy reply of the 27th April to my respects of the 4th April, but also for the copious benevolence therein expressed. You have fully evinced yourself as a perfect philanthropist, for which you are universally held. I beg to assure you, also, that I have lost no time to secure success to your well-meant counsel. I have sent your letter and newspapers to my friend in Parma; and her Majesty the Duchess of Parma (who acts like a mother to her unthankful subjects) has taken up the matter with great zeal, and the necessary steps were taken, so that the Austrian state-office will try to effect the freedom of the unfortunate Giovanni Orlando, whose case is warmly advocated also by Prince Metternich. The matter was stated to the Austrian ambassador in St. Petersburg with all possible emphasis, and there is no doubt but the Governor of Orenburg has already received the necessary injunction from his government.

Desirous of having something decisive to communicate from Russia, caused my deference hitherto, but fearing to appear ungrateful in your eyes, I would not wait any longer in discharging so agreeable a duty.

Application could not be made by Prince Metternich to the Shah of Persia, agreeably to your advice, as the Austrian foreign-office is in no direct intercourse with that power; but the few matters are carried on by means of the Sublime Porte, which in this case is considered too uncertain, and therefore preferred proposing the affair to the influential government of Russia.

We are here already apprised of your meritorious Work, which you introduce with so much modest worth, and I doubt not but the high-spirited British nation will endeavour to reward you for your perseverance amidst all the dangers; at any rate you may be convinced that you are distinguished in all Europe for the philanthropic sacrifices made by you, and every one acquainted with those facts must consequently feel a disposition to serve you, among which number please to count and depend on,

Reverend Sir,

Your most humble and obedient servant,

J. G. Schwarz.

It is highly gratifying to me to perceive that the most insignificant states of Europe are determined on rescuing from the tyranny of the Ameer the meanest subject that claims from them citizenship. I cannot but contrast the bold remonstrance of other governments with the timid assertion of power on the part of England; nor can I avoid remarking, that although the Ameer has murdered with impunity three English envoys, yet has he never ventured on measures of this character with Boutinieff, the Russian envoy, (despite of Abdul Samut Khan, who wished to execute him also,) or any officers of that country. I further trace to these weak measures of our Oriental policy the alienation of Persia from our influence, and the hold Russia has, and evidently means to keep there. All these recent arrangements, to our decided disadvantage, are the result of a want of firmness on the English government, which quietly suffers Turkey and Persia to sink into vassalage to the Czar. And what are these countries but stepping-stones to India? My prediction in my first edition relative to the annexation of the Punjaub bids fair to be speedily realized, if pounds, shillings, and pence are not too much taken into consideration, and if the first man in the East, the great Sir Charles Napier, is made Commander-in-Chief. Now is the time to make use of Dost Muhammed Khan for the purpose of punishing the Ameer of Bokhara: on the slightest hint to Dost Muhammed Khan, he would take possession of Peshawr and Jelaal-Abad, which was forcibly taken from Affghanistaun by Runjeet Singh. The effect of this would be, that we should gain the friendship, not only of the Affghauns, but also of our Muhammedan subjects in India. I speak here not as a politician, but as a philanthropist and Christian, for by the conquest of the Punjaub, Cashmeer, which has been sighing for a long time after the English, will fall into their hands. This will not only lead to the costly product of its looms being our own, but to the diffusion of the Gospel of Christ among the dense

population inhabiting the loveliest valley upon earth,—Cashmeer. From thence it would spread into Thibet, Cashgar, Tūrkistaun, and Chinese Tartary, as I have already mentioned. I should like to see whole colonies of English artists, men of science and literature, and divines, proceeding to Cashmeer. The catholic Church of England might well found an Episcopality there, with the highest prospects of success.

I am not without hopes that my fellow-pupil in the Collegio Romano, Cardinal Ferretti, now elected Pope, will contribute in no small degree to the union of the Roman and Anglican church. He was my personal friend, and I gave him lessons in Hebrew: I had an argument with him on the *infallibility of the Pope*, and the salvability of Protestants. He expressed on the latter point very liberal sentiments, but was decidedly opposed, not only to the Lutherans, but to the Austrian government. He is a gentleman of high education, was born Conte Ferretti at Ancona, and is a man of piety, zeal, benevolence, and amiability. He was the means of the conversion of a negro, whose godfather he was, and whom he sent to the Propaganda to be educated. He gave him his own name Ferretti. He will probably promote Cardinal Ostini to a high position, as he was a professor at the Collegio Romano. I shall here mention, with less honour, another of my pupils in the Hebrew language, Prince Alexander Hohenlohe Schillingfurst, who was afterwards famous as a miracle-monger at Vienna and Elwanga. I found him to be a lying, profligate, and hypocritical fellow: he was expelled from the seminary of Tyrnau in Hungary. Archbishop Hohenwart at Vienna, and Johannes Jahn, the famous archæologist, both warned me against him. While I was at Rome, he came there, and stood in the fame of great sanctity: he lived with the Jesuits, with whom he was an especial favourite. Pius VII. was on the point of consecrating him *bishop;* but I sent word that if he did so, he would offend all Germany. The Jesuits were furious against me, and also all the Austrian, Wirtembergian, and Saxon ambassadors. However, Cardinal

Litta asked for my proofs; I gave him,—1st. Count Hohenwart; 2nd. Jahn; 3rd. Baron Peukler; 4th. Fr. Schlegel; 5th. Hoffbauer; 6th. The seminary of Tyrnau. Six weeks after, Cardinal Litta sent me word by Professor, now Cardinal Ostini, "Che Guiseppe Wolff, ha parlato la verità," &c. Prince Hohenlohe consequently walked off without his bishoprick, and thus I stopped *one* unworthy person from attaining episcopacy.

In conclusion I have to add, that I am, by the kindness of my friend Colonel Michel, a beneficed presbyter of the English church. I now hope to end my days quietly in England, and to give up migrating altogether, for my natural inclinations are all in favour of comfort and ease. I here solemnly assure my readers, that I ever detested travelling for traveling's sake, for I dislike uncivilized life and uncivilized habits; and it is altogether an absurdity to talk of the sacredness of 'the word of an Arab,' or 'the noble character' of a rapacious robber Kurd, or 'the generosity' of a treacherous Türkomaun, who invariably require for their hospitality tenfold the price of what they tender to the weary wanderer. But I was carried onwards by the object, and should I ever be again called on to be the instrument of ransoming English or other captives from the hands of the vile Khyburees or the merciless Affghauns, or from the power of the blood-hound Abdul Samut Khan, I trust never to be wanting at my post.

This latter worthy has found an advocate in one of our weekly papers. Heaven defend me from the tender mercies of the blood-dyed Nayeb!

The following extracts from letters received by Sir Claude Martin Wade, our British resident at Lahore, from his official correspondent, (I am not permitted to publish the name of this gentleman,) will prove the mischief done elsewhere to English interests by this villanous Persian. To him Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly owe their imprisonment, their tortures, and their death. To his tender mercies Colonel Sheil especially assigned myself:—

31st May, 1835.

Abdool Samut, the Persian, it is understood, has privately sent off his money and effects from Cabul; and it is reported that he meditates flight in consequence either of his fear of the Amir, Dost Muhammed Khan, or of suspicions of political commotions then apprehended. Latterly, he has not enjoyed the high favour with the Amir which he formerly did. Some persons have been trying to prejudice the Amir against my correspondent, that he is a *jasus*, or spy,—particularly the notorious Abdool Samut.

This letter proves the extent of his intrigues at that period, which subsequently ripened, we shall see, into bitter fruit.

The following clearly indicates that he pursued the same sure game at the court of Dost Muhammed that I have pointed out in Bokhara, by securing the interest of the harem.

20th September, 1835.

Dost Muhammed Khan may not be able to realize the results expected by him from such a bold stroke of policy, but it may be considered an unequivocal manifestation of his designs, and perhaps the signal to commit a series of acts of violence, in which he will be abetted by those who counselled the act. It is one which every Affghan but himself execrates, and which will be approved by no Kizzilbash when brought about, as it evidently has been, by the instrumentality chiefly of so unworthy a person as Abdool Samut, who pledges himself to the Amir for a favourable reply to his application. Abdool Samut has at the same time addressed letters to some Russian officers with whom he claims acquaintance, among them one to a General Shebato Stor, some such name. I know not yet whether the Amir did the same or not; probably he did, and if so, it will be known in a few days, my correspondent writes. I have observed already that some unpleasant insinuations had been made to the Amir, and no doubt his new disposition may induce him perhaps to listen to them. His abettor is Abdool Samut, also a most consummate villain, who has an influence in the Amir's harem sufficient to counteract any advice given to the Amir.

This indicates pretty clearly the affection of this detestable Kuzzilbash to the British interest, and the opinion of the British agent of him there.

I now subjoin a letter which connects Haje Ibrahim with his brother Abdul Samut Khan, and indicates the nature of the associations between them,—the associations by which Stoddart, Conolly, and myself became deep sufferers, but from which the commonest care on the part of Colonel Sheil might have shielded all three.

30th November, 1835.

The despatch of letters by the Amir to Muhammed Shah, &c., I informed you of as a matter of duty; it is probable they will never reach their destination, and it is possible they were never intended to do so by Abdool Samut, the instigator of them, and who has deceived the Amir. There is reason to believe that Hadji Ibrahim, the bearer of them, will go no further than Bokhara, where he will trade on account of his brother, Abdool Samut, who has, since his departure, sent after him another stock of merchandize. Abdool Samut has amassed some money in the Amir's service, which it is better to remove from Cabul. The Amir might have objected to his brother's departure, as indeed he did when it was first proposed, and it became necessary that he should be suffered to depart under pretence of the Amir's own interest being concerned. The false and exaggerated reports at the time current in Cabul, as to the affairs of Persia, give him an opportunity of imposing on the Amir, and of creating for himself a momentary importance. The Amir may still expect to receive at Nao-Roz replies to his letters; but the Hadji, there is little doubt, will spend Nao-Roz comfortably at Bokhara.

I now connect him still further with the intrigues and chicanery and villany that produced the Affghaun war, by the following letter:—

3rd August, 1837.

Abdool Samut has received permission to depart, taking the road to Bokhara; his effects have been retained by the Amir. Khan Sherein Khan has given him seven or eight horses, and Mir Ali Khan the same number; so that with their assistance, and that of other friends, he will start with some fifteen horsemen that he may consider his own. Khan Sherein Khan will also provide twenty-five horsemen to escort him beyond the Hindoo Kosh. He will leave to-day or to-morrow. Since the arrival of Mahomed Akhbar

Khan, he has had several private interviews with Abdool Samut, as have Mirza Sami Khan and others; and I should not be surprised that the Persian, before his departure, may have concocted with them some extraordinary plan. He takes his companions with him; but one of them, who calls himself Shah Sahib, is to return from Bokhara.

Here we find him in connexion with the notorious murderer of Sir William Macnaghten—Akbar Khan, concocting the very war that was attended with such disastrous consequences to our interests. I believe him fully to have been either the originator of that war, or privy to the entire plan and design.

The following extract from another letter, dated the 11th of August, 1837, shows that however Dost Muhammed might dislike and despise the earless villain, that our keen-eyed British agent saw deeper into him than Colonel Sheil apparently did, and that he detected that his influence lay with Akbar Khan and not the Ameer. Fatally did events prove the measures concerted too well planned and deliberately executed, as poor Sir Alexander Burnes deeply rued:—

11th August, 1837.

Since my last, Naib Haji Khan and Abdool Samut have both left Kabul, the former has taken the road to Ghazni, but it is not known whether his destination may be Toba, Qandahar, or ultimately Peshawer. Abdool Samut has taken the road to Bamian; his destination also is unknown, or whether he will proceed to Bokhara or, viâ Hazarajat, to Herat and Meshed. Mir Ali Khan Morad Khani furnished him with an escort of horse to Bamian, at which the Amir was much incensed; if the Persian, previous to his departure, made any intriguing arrangements with the Kuzzilbashes, it would appear that the Amir was not privy to them.

It would not interest a British public to enter deeply into the intrigues of two villanous Persians; but if Lord Aberdeen wants any further proof of the vile conduct of the Persian agents, to whom the life and honour of our countrymen are implicitly confided, I shall be happy to furnish him with a mass of details pointing out the utter worthlessness of

the agents and employés of Colonel Sheil. Forgery, lies, peculation, robbery and murder, became familiar items in account with these worthies. The attempts to cheat and circumvent all parties, whether Muhammed Shah, Dost Muhammed, British or other envoys, were incessant. They proved nearly always abortive; but the blow intended to be dealt to the British interest, if it failed in Cabul partially for a time, was fearfully realized by the joint operation of Haje Ibrahim and Abdul Samut Khan, on the devoted heads of Stoddart and Conolly in Bokhara.

Sir Claude Martin Wade authorizes me to state, that he was compelled to effect that very expulsion from Peshawr that drove Abdul Samut Khan to Bokhara. The intrigues and rascality of Abdul Samut Khan compelled Sir Claude to adopt this course; and Masson also, in his Reports, describes him as a consummate villain. His motives for putting to death all Frankees, independent of the habitual evil of his life, arise from the fear he entertains of his real ignorance of the art of war being detected, and his lies and presumption punished by a worse evil than one he has partially sustained already,—the loss of his ears. I have warned the resident at Teheraun, our various consuls on my route, my noble friend Sir Stratford Canning, and the Foreign office against this miscreant; and next to propagating good, is the clear denouncement of evil. But in the first has been my pure, my best, my only reward.

My readers will be delighted to receive the following information. They are aware that I had intended to petition Parliament to grant to my excellent friend Captain Grover the £400 sterling, which he had spent for me; but my friend Mr. William Beckett, from Leeds, spoke in consequence, at my request, on the subject to Sir Robert Peel, stating that Sir Robert ought to deliver the money to me, in order that I might discharge my debt to Captain Grover. Sir Robert Peel, with the full assent of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Lord Aberdeen, desired me last May to go to the Trea-

sury myself, in order that I might fetch the money; but previous to my going there, the £400 was paid in my name to my bankers, Messrs. Drummonds and Co., Charing-cross, and I immediately discharged my debt to Captain Grover.

My readers will, however, not be aware that my dear friend Grover has not only sacrificed in this business money and health, but also has lost his promotion in the army, as he was I believe, the first on the list; and therefore I am sure that the victor in one hundred battles and the great Lord Palmerston will give him his promotion, and that I shall find a host of friends in the British public to second my petition.

Having heard it generally reported at Constantinople that General Jochmus was of the Jewish nation, and being assured by people of high authority, confirmed by his physiognomy and complexion, I stated my opinion on this general report in my first, second, and third edition. I have since received on this account most insulting letters from General Jochmus, and am now fully convinced that, whatever General Jochmus may be outwardly, he certainly is not a Jew inwardly, in the sense of St. Paul.

I have hitherto abstained from saying any thing in this work on the Bishopric of Jerusalem; but the church and the country must now allow me, in this edition, to state that I consider the establishment of a Bishopric of Jerusalem the most disgraceful act ever committed by persons in the Church of England.

First: The Archbishop of Canterbury, perhaps without intending it, has by consecrating a Bishop for Jerusalem, usurped Papal power, as Jerusalem is not within his Grace's diocese. 2. The former Bishop (Alexander), though a good-natured man, was totally unfit to represent the English Church. 3. The Church of England ought to have been consulted, and also the Lutheran clergy; and it ought not to have been a mere act of diplomacy. 4. As the Russians have roused the energy and genius of Shamyl Beyk in Cir-

cassia, and the French the fanaticism and patriotism of Abd-el-Kader, I am also afraid that the Church of England, which has already excited the hatred of the Church of Rome, and of the rest of the Eastern churches, will also excite the hatred and fanaticism of the Arabs and Turks against her; and I should not be surprised to hear that some Bedouin of the talents and enthusiasm of Abd-el-Kader, should start up to chastise the folly and presumption of the British church.

Many have observed that I have been badly requited, and that this ought to deter me and all others from such Quixotism in future; but I deny the inference. I have given such proofs to my Jewish friends of my sincerity of belief, as I may say without boasting no other Jewish convert has yet done. Independent of this, my nation saw that the Jew was prepared to risk his life to save the Gentile; and further, this mission has been a practical preaching of the Gospel to the Sublime Porte, to the Court of Persia, to the descendants of Ghengis Khan and Timur; and Youssuff Wolff and his Bible is as well known in the world, as the opposite principle in Wellington and the cannons of Waterloo.

I cannot conclude these remarks without once more recommending the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge and the British and Foreign Bible Society to the British public; for unless the engines of peace over all the earth accompany the progress of Lord Hardinge, and all other warriors, the nations will think we love blood, and recoil with horror from our path. But if the great practical issue of the Messiah's kingdom be pointed out,—"Peace on earth, good will among men," we shall then scarce need the amiable efforts of a Peace Society, but all the nations feel as brethren, and form one holy bond of union. It is on Christian elements alone that this can be effected. Muhammed could not do it, —he took the opposite principle for union; Menu could not do it; Brahma and Buddha could not do it; but Christ has in part already effected this, and a distate for war is percep-

tible amid nations; all are now, in fact, pouring their common contributions without jealousy into each other's bosom, and all will become enriched, I trust, by a mutual interchange of the nobler gifts of thought, of holiness, and sanctification.

I have now to thank my readers for the patience with which they have hitherto indulged me,—for that munificent patronage that has enabled me to publish this fourth edition, and I trust that the time will never come when the lot of the captive in the dungeon shall cease to command the deep sympathy of a British public; and that the slight effort here made for the lives of the brethren will in no wise be measured by its success, but by the important principle it has developed, that there exists not a recess so dark upon God's earth into which Philanthropy will not pour its light,—that Eastern tyranny can neither daunt nor subdue the Christian principle, but that it will force its way, like the mighty leaven that leaveneth the mass, not only to the remotest ends of the earth, but possess every particle in it with its own benevolence, charity, and love.

THE END.

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